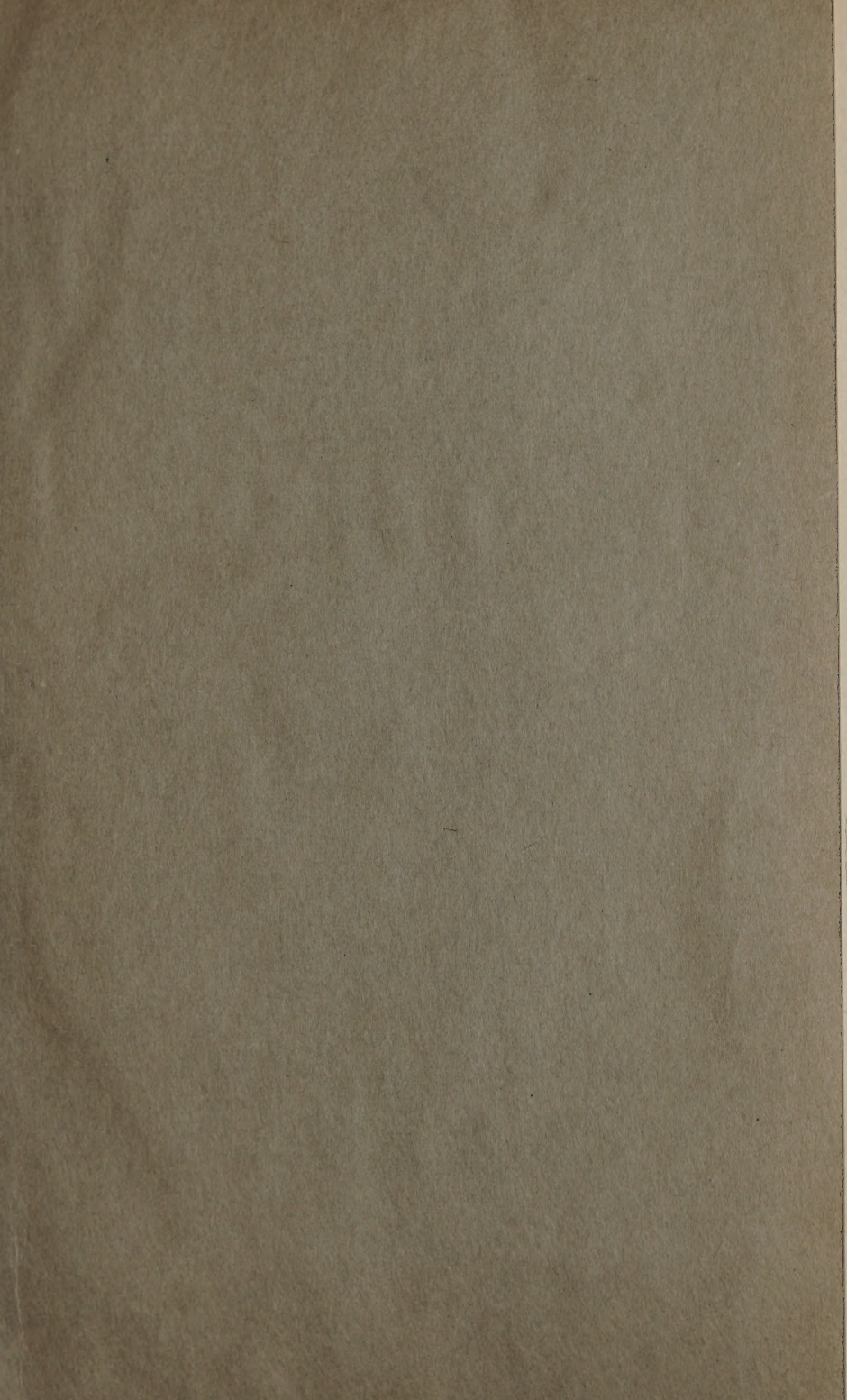


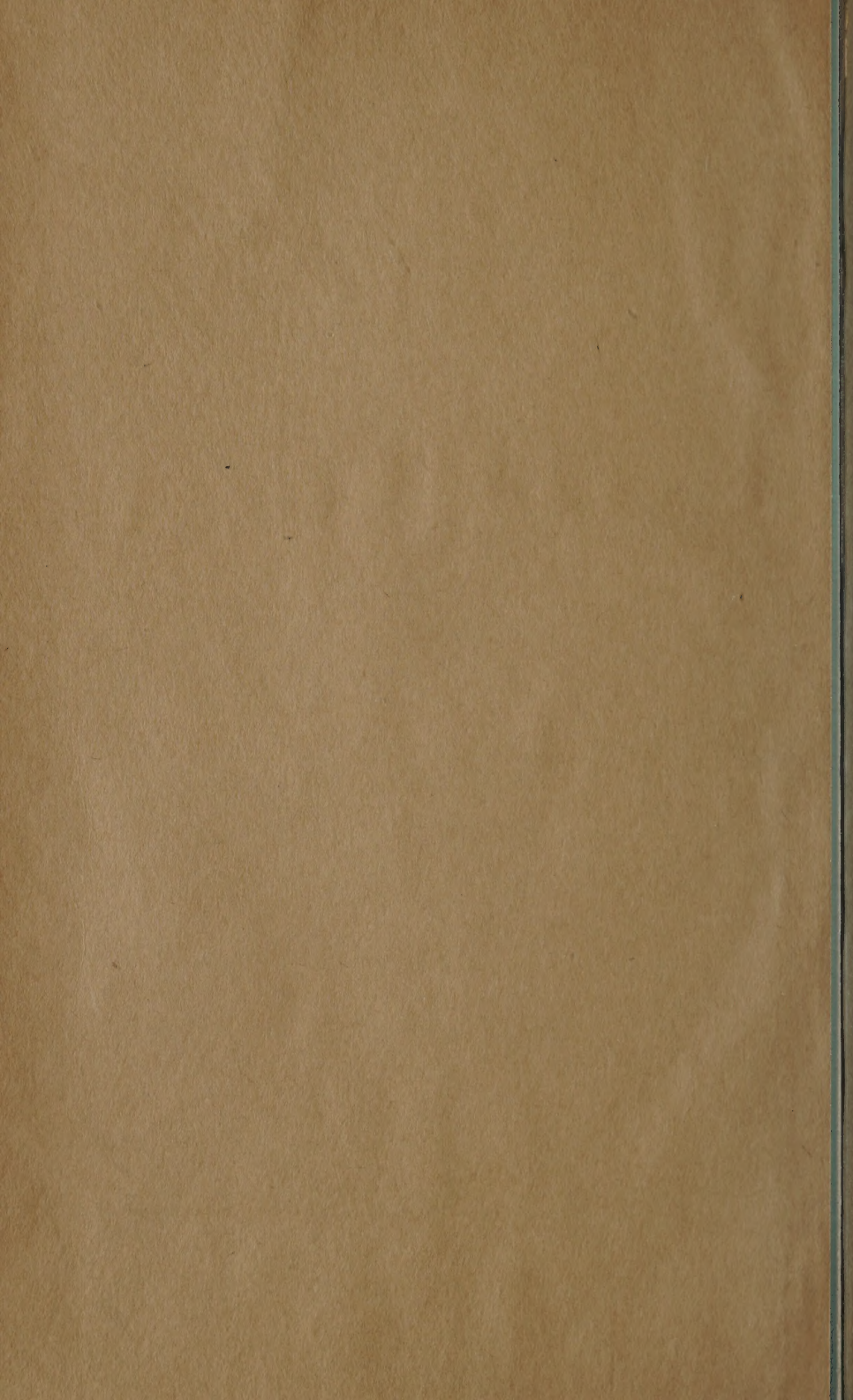
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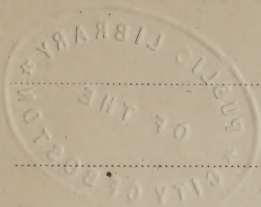
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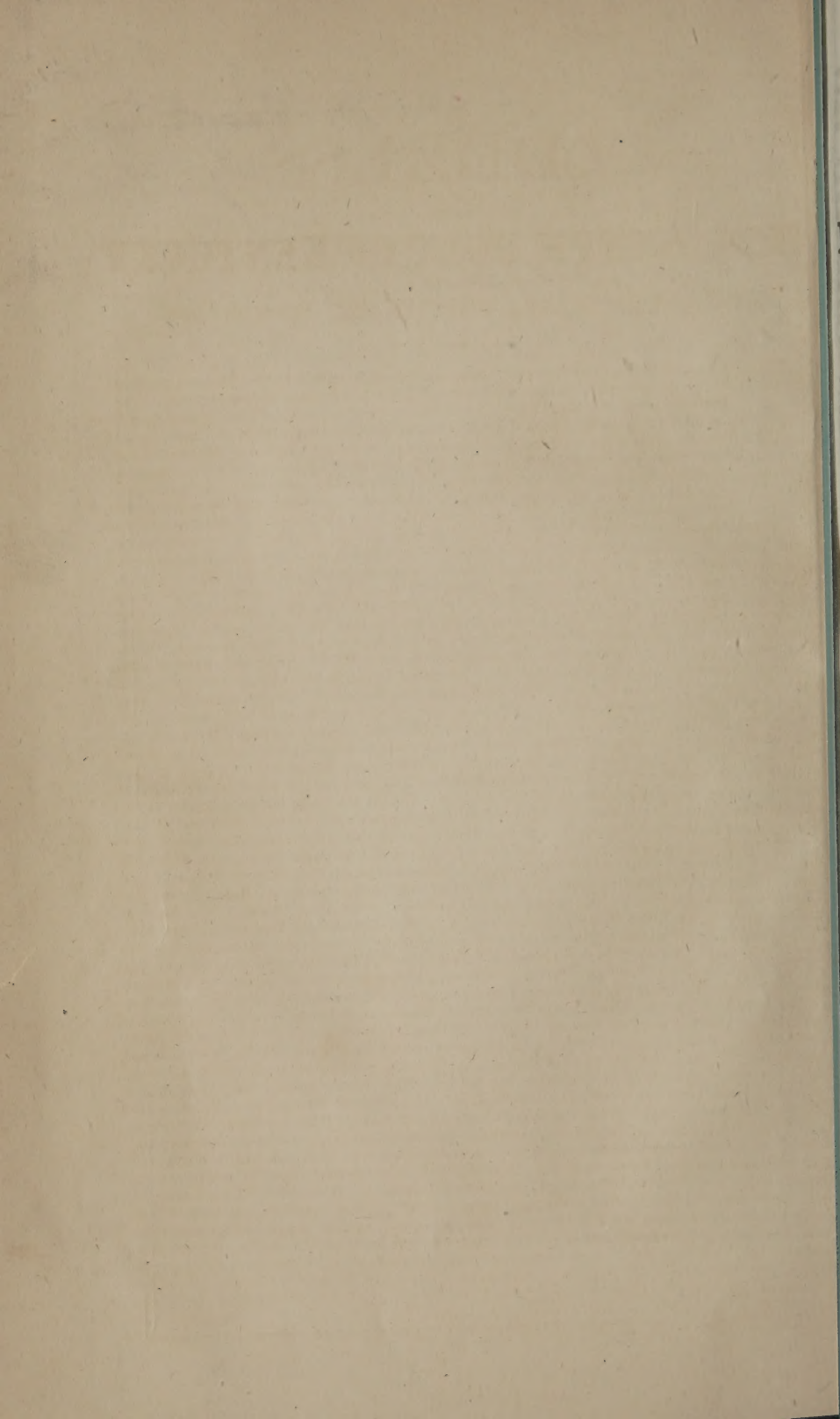
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ADDRESS

OF

HON. JOSEPH HOLT, OF KENTUCKY

AT IRVING HALL, NEW YORK, SEPT. 5, 1861. Cat.

Fellow Citizens—It is to me a source of boundless rejoicing that the freemen of Kentucky are still permitted to call the freemen of New York their fellow-citizens. [Applause ; "Three cheers for Kentucky."] Traitors within and traitors without have striven unceasingly to break that noble old Commonwealth away from the moorings of her loyalty, and to send her adrift upon that stormy sea of rebellion and treason, where so many of our States are now being wrecked.—But, thank God, neither their seductions, nor their machinations, nor their threatenings, have proved of any avail. In spite of all their violence and all their efforts to rend them asunder, New York and Kentucky this night stand forward as sisters. The freemen of Kentucky are still the brethren of the freemen of New York, united by the same blessed memories, kindled by the same transporting hopes, and animated by the same stern and inflexible resolve to maintain this Union, whatever the expenditure of life the struggle may require. She has not now, she never has had, sympathy with the purpose of those conspirators, who, at the head of armies, and in the mad pursuit of power, are now reddening their hands in a nation's blood. [Applause.] She abhors them as Rome abhorred Cataline, as the American people abhor Benedict Arnold, as Christians abhor the memory of Judas Iscariot. That abhorrence was fully expressed in our recent election ; and yet, in the very face of that popular expression, and in defiance and contempt of it, the public papers now assure us that the Secessionists are preparing to precipitate that State into the horrors of civil war, simply and solely because she had refused to sell herself to the devil. [Cheers.] Yet if, like the political bandit of South America and Mexico, they traitorously persist in appealing from the popular vote to the sword, then I venture to predict that it will be found that the Union men of Kentucky, with their love of peace, still carry bullets as well as ballots in their pockets. Fellow-citizens, I wish I had language in which adequately to convey to you my grateful sense of the reception I have received, and my thanks to the distinguished gentlemen who has in terms so flattering referred to me. The very slight services which it has been my fortune to render to our common country are altogether unworthy of the appreciation they have received. Had I done infinitely more, I should only have done my duty, and I would have been infamous in my own view had I done less. [Cheers.] Fellow-citizens, when I accepted the distinguished honor from the Chamber of Commerce of presenting myself before you to-night, it was with a distinct understanding that I would not inflict upon you a studied political harangue. An elaborate discussion of those topics which now so painfully occupy the public mind is not at all necessary before the loyal men of New York. The fearful import of current events, and the stern duty which those events impose upon us all, are too well understood by yourselves to make it necessary that I should attempt either to describe them, or to impress them upon your minds. A few words, however, in connection with a journey which I have recently made through the loyal States. I have everywhere found the most encouraging sentiment in reference to the prosecution of this war ; have nowhere found any feeling of exasperation against the people of the South, no bluster, no threatening, but at every point a solemn determination to uphold the Government, connected with a sadness whose depth of tenderness I should in vain endeavor to describe. [Cheers.]—Strong and brave men, while speaking to me of our unhappy dissensions, have wept, and I honor them for it ; for if a strong man cannot weep over the ruin of such a country, and of such a Government as this, where is the catastrophe that can touch his heart ? All men everywhere seem now to realize that this is not a war upon the people of the South, but a war in their defence, and for their deliverance. [Cheers. "That's true."] If it were indeed a war against them, we might lay our faces in the dust, and confess that our glorious institutions are a failure. But it is a war against a band of conspirators who have arrayed themselves against our country, and have established a military despotism, and who, in the selfishness and remorselessness of their undertaking, are kindred to those traitors who, in other ages, have disturbed the repose of nations. [Applause.] The public mind no longer occupies itself with any discussion as to the causes of this war. It no longer wastes its logic in exposing the monstrosities of the doctrine of Secession. In the light of current and recent events, we now know well

what Secession was intended to accomplish. Too bitterly we know what it has accomplished; and we would no more think now of gravely examining, with a view of showing its treason, than we would think of analyzing the kiss of Judas to prove that it was full of the poison of treachery. [Applause.] Equally matured is the public mind as to the consequences which would follow the success of this rebellion.

The providence of God and the most sacred compacts of men have made us one people, and the experience of three-quarters of a century has demonstrated that in this unity of country, of government, and of people, consists at once our greatness and our happiness. To dismember these States now, to cast their miserable fragments upon the bloody and wild torrents of revolution, to become the prey of every audacious aspirer, would utterly destroy the last hope that belongs to us. Equally is the public mind fixed, in my judgment, in regard to the character of this war. It is not a war of conquest, or of aggression, or spoliation, or passion, or revenge; but in every light in which it can be regarded, it is a war of duty. (Applause.) This struggle is intensely a struggle for national existence, and so hallowed in all its purposes, and in its spirit, that the flock and the pastor, those who worship around and those who minister at the altar, may contribute their blood and treasure in its support, and feel sure that in doing so they only come up to the requirements of Christian and patriotic love. It is a war of duty, because under the light of our Christian civilization no nation can commit suicide without the perpetration of a cowardly and atrocious crime, and that nation does commit suicide which surrenders its life to an enemy from which manhood and courage could save it. (Applause.) It is a war of duty, because we have no right to bear our father's names and insult and degrade their memories by giving up the institutions won by their blood to be trodden under the feet of traitors. It is a war of duty, because we have no right to bestow our names upon our children stripped of that grand inheritance which rightly belongs to them, and for the transmission of which we are but the appointed agents of those illustrious men who won it by the sword and with their lives. (Applause.) It is a war of duty, because devoted as we profess to be to law and order, and all the interests of civilization; there presses upon us an urgent obligation to rebuke and chastise this enormous crime which is being committed—because it is a rebellion not only against us but against the very race to which we belong.

It is finally a war of duty, because we have assumed to ourselves as a people the special championship not only of the right but of the capacity of the race for self-government; and that assumption has been accepted by the lovers of freedom everywhere; and now, with the nations of the world looking down upon us, as from the seats of some vast amphitheatre, we have no right to suffer this sacred and sublime cause to be stricken down and crushed upon the battle fields of the South and to perish there amid the scoffs and jeers of kings and despots. (Applause.) How anxiously and confidently have they predicted this day! How they have longed for its coming! In the essential antagonism of their institutions to ours, and in the abhorrence which they feel to that system of government which gives the honors and fortunes of the earth to the toiling millions who are the architects of both, how gladly would each one of them this day build a monument to the skies, if he could only inscribe upon it these words:—"In memory of the great Republic of the United States, founded by Washington, destroyed by Toombs, Twiggs and Floyd." What a record for humanity would that be! Fellow-citizens, I do but utter a truth which is painfully present to all minds, that the disloyalty which is found in our own midst, especially at Washington, and in the Border States, has been a fruitful source of disaster and of discouragement from the very beginning of this unfortunate struggle. This evil has assumed proportions of such magnitude that its correction has become a paramount duty upon the part of those charged with the administration of the Government. Its prevalence has been marked by all those treacheries and excesses which have been its un failing characteristics in other lands and in other times. Next to the worship of the Father of our spirits, the grandest and the strongest sentiment of which our nation is susceptible, is the love of our country. When that sentiment has been corrupted, like an arch from which the keystone has been displaced, the whole moral character seems to tumble in ruins. The public and the private profligacy of traitors and spies, both male and female, has been vouched for by all history, and indeed it has grown into a proverb that "the man who will betray his country will betray his God." [Great applause.] He will betray his friends, his kindred, and, if need be, the very wife of his bosom and children of his loins. Suppose that you lived in one of those cities where there is a steam fire-engine and a paid company to operate it; and suppose that your house was on fire and this company and this engine had been summoned to the spot and were vigorously engaged in extinguishing it; and suppose that you discern, from time to time, men creeping out from the crowd and sticking their knives into the hose, from which the water is seen to spout forth in all directions upon the pavements of the street. How long do you think the presence of such miscreants would be endured! But suppose that, looking more closely into the faces of these men, you discover that they are members of this fire company, receiving the salary to which you have yourself contributed! In the first burst of your indignation would you not feel that their punishment would not be too great if they were thrown into the flames which they were thus indirectly feeding?

And yet this has been precisely the condition of the Government of the United States. [A voice—"That's a fact."] That has been, from the commencement of this struggle, its precise condition. I know there are those that look with more toleration upon those offences which prevail among us than I can possibly do. Perhaps I am too harsh; but I must say this: that the men who in our own midst give aid and comfort to the enemy, either by furnishing them secret information or by advertising their cause, or by striving to sow dissensions among ourselves, or by insiduously dissuading loyal men from entering the military service, are more vitally the foes of our country than if they were in the army of the Confederate States. [Applause.] The power of the Government can do much to correct this evil, but much more can be done by the crushing power of public opinion, branding as infamous, socially and politically, disloyalty whenever and wherever encountered. [Applause.] These men are, morally at least, guilty of the death of those who fall in defence of the Government, just as much as if they had met them upon the battle-field with the deadly weapons of war. In your railroad cars, upon your steamboats, in your thoroughfares, in every business and social circle, disloyalty should be branded and blasted as a leprous and loathsome thing. [Great applause.] And, therefore, my friends, when you see these men, be it upon 'Change, or be it in the social circle, and they offer you their hands, look well to them, for if you have the eye that I have, you will see that they are red with the blood of brave men, your kindred it may be, who have perished, and who are perishing still, on the battle-field—turn away from them in disgust and indignation.

Fellow citizens, I know there are some, for it is true, who do sincerely believe that this Republic—the question of public honor out of question, out of view—that this Republic could be separated, and that a peace could be patched up, and that the two Governments thereafter could live on prosperously, peaceably as before. No more false or fatal thought ever crept, serpent-like, into an American bosom. [Great cheering.] You might as well tell me, that the boat which has been turned adrift above the cataract of Niagara, will have a tranquil voyage. (Cheers.) If you will go and stand, as many of us have done, amid the ruins of crumbling empires in the old world—ask them, they will all tell you it is a delusion; if you will go into the cemetery of nations, and hold your ear to the sepulchre of those young and generous and high-spirited nations that have perished through the convulsions of civil strife, they will answer in accents of broken heartedness, it is a delusion. And if you will not listen to the voices of the past, go into Mexico and South America, and ask the inhabitants of those bright lands, blest with a climate the best of earth, and occupying a soil of exhaustless fertility, and living amid lakes, rivers, and mountains of grandeur and inspiration—they will lift up their bowed heads, amid demoralization, poverty, and dishonor, and they will tell you it is a delusion. [Cheers.]

Fellow citizens, I rejoice to believe—may I not say, to know—that the spirit of loyalty at this time dwells richly and abundantly in the popular heart of the North and West. But I do beseech you, you who have a deep stake in the present and in the future of our country—you men of culture and of fortune, and of moral power, I do implore you, by all means possible, add yet to the power and to the fervor of that loyalty. If it grows cool amid the calculations of avarice, or craven under the discouragements of defeat, our country will be overcome. What we now need is a patriotism that will abide the ordeal of fire, a patriotism that is purged of all selfishness and from all fear, which is heroic and exhaustless; which vows with every throb of life, with every pulse, that it will rally—if stricken down it will rise again, and that under the pressure of no circumstances of defeat, of sorrow, or of suffering, shall the National Flag be abandoned, or the honor of the country compromised. [Enthusiastic applause.] What we need is a patriotism which rises fully to the comprehension of the actual and the awful perils in which our institutions are placed, and which is willing to devote every power of body and mind and fortune, to their deliverance. [Cheers.] A patriotism which, obliterating all party lines—(cheers long continued, and repeated again and again, breaking forth in a loud hurrah)—a patriotism which, obliterating all party lines and entombing all party issues, says to the President of the United States: Here are our lives and our estates; use them freely, use them boldly, but use them successfully. For, looking upon the graves of our fathers and upon the cradles of our children, we have sworn that though all things else should perish, this country and this Union shall live. (Great cheering, the assembly rising to their feet and waving hats and handkerchiefs.) It is such a patriotism as this, and such only, will conduct you to victory. And I rejoice to believe that this spirit has been everywhere awakened throughout the loyal States.

The capitalists have come nobly forward [cheers,] and, risking all, they have exhibited a grandeur of devotion to the country which, while it will astonish the people of Europe, has inspired the gratitude and the admiration of every true American heart. [Cheers.] All honor to them! They have proved that if there is much gold in Wall street, there is more patriotism there. [Cheers.] Not a summer patriotism, which flourishes amid the peans of victory, but a patriotism which struggles and sacrifices and suffers, and is prepared to put all things to hazard, even in the winter of national adversity, and in the hour of national defeat. [Cheers.] Unless this country can thus feel, the sun of her national life, which is now obscured, may yet go down forever, amid storms and dark-

ness—if all our great material interests are crushed to earth by the shadow which is passing over that sun, what would be our condition if that shadow should deepen into the night of permanent defeat? Is there nothing to live for but the gains of commerce, nothing but the embellishment of our estates of importance, and the furtherance of our ease and comfort? Are courage, and manhood, and honor, and loyalty, and national fame, and the respect and homage of the world, nothing. Is it nothing to live without a flag, and without a country, and without a future for ourselves and for our children, and to stand forth the degenerate and despised descendants of illustrious sires? We might lay ourselves in the dust, and be stripped by traitors' hands of all that ennobles and sweetens human existence, and still live on as do the cattle of the field, but our lives would be more ignoble than theirs. [Cheers.] If, with all our vast material resources, if with our known and acknowledged physical superiority over the Rebels, if with our clamorous and profuse avowals of devotion to our institutions, we suffer that rebellion to triumph over us, I do verily believe the American name would become a stench in the nostrils of the world, and that an American citizen would not be permitted to walk the streets of an European capital without having the finger of scorn pointed at him. [Cries of "Bravo," and cheers.] Fellow citizens, if I might be permitted to utter a word upon such a subject, I would earnestly counsel forbearance and patience in reference to those charged with the administration of our Government. [Great Applause.] Before criticising their conduct we should remember that we may not see all the field of action, and may not be in a condition justly to appreciate the difficulties to be overcome. [Applause.] No man can doubt the honesty and loyalty of the President of the United States, [immense applause, waving of hats, and cries of No!] or his determination to suppress this rebellion. To him, under the Constitution, the popular voice has committed absolutely the fate of this Republic. His hands are emphatically your hands, and in weakening him, you weaken yourselves and you weaken the struggling country that we are all striving to save. He is too, at this moment overwhelmed with a mountain of responsibility and toil such as ever rested on no public man in our history, and he is fully entitled to all the support, and all the consolation which a generous and warm-hearted patriotism can give him. [Great Applause.] Amid all the discouragements that surround us, I have still an unflinching faith in human progress and in the capacity of man for self-government. I believe all the blood which the true lovers of our race have shed upon more than a thousand battle-fields has borne fruit, and that fruit is the Republic of the United States. [Applause.] It came forth upon the world like the morning sun from its chamber, and its pathway has been the pathway of light and glory, and it has poured its blessings upon its people in brimming fullness, as rivers from their waters to the sea. I cannot admit to my bosom the crushing thought that in the full light of the Christian civilization of the nineteenth century such a Government is fated to perish beneath the swords of the guilty men who are now banded together for its overthrow. [Applause, loud and long.] I cannot, I will not believe these twenty millions of people, cultivated, loyal, courageous—twenty millions of the Anglo-Saxon race, bearing the names of the heroes of the Revolution, and passing their lives amid the inspirations of its battle-fields—will ignominiously suffer its institutions to be overthrown by ten millions, nearly half of whom are wretched, helpless slaves with fetters in their hands. [Great applause; cries of "Never."] No page of history so dark and so humiliating as this has been written of any portion of the human family; and the American people had better, far better, never been born than to have lived to have such a history written of themselves. Let us then, fellow-citizens, endeavor to raise ourselves fully to this great work of duty. If it is to be done well, it should be done quickly. If we would economise both blood and treasure, we should move promptly—we should move mightily. If, at this very moment, it were possible to precipitate the physical force of the North upon the battle-fields of the South, it would be a measure not only of wisdom, but of economy and humanity also. (Applause.) Let us, then, have faith and hope and courage, and all will yet be well. (Great applause.)

Fellow-citizens, I feel I may have spoken to you to-night with more emphasis and more earnestness of suggestion than I am privileged to employ in your presence. (Cries of "No, no; go on.") If I have done so, you will forgive the freedom, I know; attributing it to that terrible conjunction of affairs under which it is my fortune to address you. If I had a greater interest than you had, or a less interest, then you might mistrust me; but I have precisely the same interest. If this Union is dismembered, and this Government overthrown, the grave of every earthly hope will open at my feet; and will open at yours also. In the lives of families and nations there rises from time to time emergencies of danger which drives all before them to a common council chamber. When the storm is raging at sea, when the laboring and quivering vessel shrieks out from every joint at the coming destruction, all who are on board, alike the humble sailor and the most distinguished passenger, will feel themselves possessed of that right which no human despotism can control—the right of self-preservation. Even so, amid the heavy current of this national tragedy, I, an humble citizen of this distracted country, have ventured to lift up the voice of counsel and entreaty in your hearing, and to thank you most kindly for your attention. (Three rousing cheers were given for Mr. Holt, the audience rising and waving hats and handkerchiefs, and three more cheers for Kentucky.)

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SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH HOLT,

OF KENTUCKY,

AT IRVING HALL, NEW YORK,

SEPTEMBER 3, 1861.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, NEW YORK.

NEW YORK:
G. P. PUTNAM, 532 BROADWAY. *Cat*

OFFICE OF "THE REBELLION RECORD."

1861.

At a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, New York, Thursday, September 5th, 1861, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the thanks of the Chamber of Commerce be tendered to the Hon. JOSEPH HOLT, of Kentucky, for his eloquent, powerful, and patriotic address, delivered at Irving Hall, on Tuesday evening last.

Resolved, That he be requested to furnish the Chamber a copy for publication and for distribution; and that the Executive Committee be authorized to carry this Resolution into effect.

SPEECH OF HON. JOSEPH HOLT *cat*

AT A MASS MEETING, CALLED BY THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, IN
IRVING HALL, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 3, 1861.

THE announcement in the papers September 2d, says a New York contemporary, that the Hon. Joseph Holt, the representative Union man of Kentucky, would address the people of New York, called together through the rough and howling storm of Tuesday Evening the 3d, the largest audience which Irving Hall is capable of containing. Long before the hour for which the meeting was called every seat was occupied, and by eight o'clock every inch of standing room was as hotly contested as the heights to the west of Washington. There was a large number of ladies in the galleries.

The arrival of Mr. Holt was the signal for impetuous cheering—the whole audience rising, and waving hats and handkerchiefs. He was accompanied upon the platform by Pelatiah Perit, Chas. H. Marshall, John Jay, Peter Cooper, Prosper M. Wetmore, Roswell C. Hitchcock, S. B. Chittenden, and others of the Chamber of Commerce, at whose solicitation he had consented to speak.

Wm. E. Dodge, Esq., called the meeting to order, and nominated Pelatiah Perit chairman of the meeting. The nomination was unanimously acceded to.

MR. PERIT, on taking the chair, said: We are assembled this evening, to give a public reception to our distinguished fellow-citizen, the Hon. Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, (applause,) who is accidentally with us. Mr. Holt has been drawn to this city by business motives, and had not intended to take any part in any public demonstration; but he has kindly yielded to the solicitations of the committee of the Chamber of Commerce and many distinguished citizens, and honors us with his company this evening. (Applause.) It might be a proper introduction to the proceedings of this evening

to advert to a few of those important events which have given special prominence to Mr. Holt before the public at this time. We all of us remember that doleful interval in our history when the Executive Government appeared to be paralyzed; when the army of the United States, under the ingenious arrangements of Mr. Floyd, had been scattered through remote regions, and was unavailable for any important purpose; when the best arms of the Government had been carefully sent to those States which were ripe for secession; and when the navy of the United States was scattered throughout remote parts of the earth, inaccessible to the orders of the Government. It was under these circumstances that Mr. Holt accepted the appointment of Secretary of War, (cheers;) and I am sure that I do not transgress the limits of truth when I say that it was owing to his firmness, and patriotism, and vigor, in a great measure, that our Government was saved from ruin. (Applause.) I am sure that I utter the sentiments of all this large audience, when I say that we owe to Mr. Holt—there are due to him from every patriotic citizen—cordial acknowledgments and everlasting gratitude for the services which he has rendered. I have the honor to introduce Mr. Holt to the Assembly.

SPEECH OF HON. JOSEPH HOLT.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—It is to me a source of boundless rejoicing that the freemen of Kentucky are still permitted to call the freemen of New York their fellow-citizens. Traitors within and traitors without have striven unceasingly to drag that noble Commonwealth from the moorings of her loyalty, and to send her adrift upon that stormy sea of rebellion and treason on which so many of our States are being wrecked, but their seductions and their threatenings have proved alike unavailing. In

spite of all their violence and of all their treacherous efforts to rend them asunder, New York and Kentucky stand this night before the world as sisters. The freemen of Kentucky are still the brethren of the freemen of New York, bound together by the same blessed memories, kindled by the same transporting hopes, and animated by the same lofty, inflexible resolve to maintain the Union of these States, whatever expenditure of life and of treasure the patriotic struggle may involve. Kentucky has not now, she never has had, the slightest sympathy with those conspirators who, at the head of armies and in the mad pursuit of power, are now reddening their hands in a nation's blood. She abhors them as Rome abhorred Catiline, as the American people abhor Benedict Arnold, as Christians abhor the memory of Judas Iscariot. That abhorrence was fully expressed in her recent election; and yet, in defiance and in contempt of that overwhelming popular demonstration, the public papers now assure us that the secessionists are actively engaged in machinations to plunge that State into the horrors of civil war, simply and solely because she has refused to follow the example of Faust and sell herself to the Devil. If this be true, and, like the political bandits of Mexico and South America, they atrociously insist upon appealing from the popular vote to the sword, and strike the first blow, I predict it will then appear that the Union men of Kentucky, with all their sincere love of peace and desire for it, carry bullets as well as ballots in their pockets.

Fellow-citizens, I wish I had language in which adequately to convey to you my most grateful sense of the warm and cheering reception with which you have honored me to-night, and my sincere thanks to the distinguished chairman of this meeting for the graceful and flattering terms in which he has presented me to you. The very slight services which it has been my fortune to render to our common country, and to which he has referred in words of such hearty approval, have no claims to the generous appreciation which they have here and elsewhere received. Had I, with better fortune, been able to accomplish infinitely more, I should only have done my duty; while I should have been abased in my own esteem, and utterly infamous before the world, had I done any thing less.

When I accepted from the Chamber of Commerce the highly-prized honor of appearing before you to-night, it was with the distinct understanding that I would not inflict upon you a set political harangue. An elaborate discussion of those topics which now so painfully occupy the public mind is not at all necessary before the loyal men of New York. The fearful import of current events, and the stern duties which these events impose upon all who truly love their country, are too well understood by yourselves to make it incumbent upon me on this occasion to seek either to explain them or to impress them upon your con-

sciences. A few thoughts, however, somewhat in connection with a journey which I have recently made through several of the loyal States, may be properly submitted for your consideration.

Everywhere, I have found the most healthful and encouraging condition of the public sentiment in reference to the prosecution of this war; nowhere have I met with threatening or bluster, or any feeling of exasperation against the people of the South, but at every point, a calm yet stern determination to sustain the Government, mingled with a sadness whose depth and tenderness I should in vain endeavor to describe. Strong and brave men, while speaking to me of our national dissensions and sorrows, have wept, and I honored them for it; for if a brave man cannot weep over the threatened ruin of such a Government and country as ours, where is there the catastrophe, where the tomb that could touch his heart? Everywhere all seem now to realize that this is not a war upon the people of the South, but rather in their defence and for their deliverance. If it were indeed waged against them, we might well lay our faces in the dust and confess that our glorious institutions are a failure; but it is waged against a band of conspirators, who, having usurped the government of that distracted portion of our country, have established a military despotism there, and are, in the selfishness and remorselessness of their ambition, kindred in guilt to the very worst of those profligate men who in other ages and lands have disturbed the repose of nations.

The public mind no longer occupies itself with discussions as to the causes of this war, nor wastes its logic in exposing the monstrosities of the doctrine of secession. In the light of current and recent events, we well know what secession was intended to accomplish, and bitterly do we know what it has accomplished, and we would now no more think of gravely examining its character and tendencies to prove it treasonable, than we would think of analyzing the kiss of Judas to show that it was full of the poison of treachery.

Equally matured is the public judgment as to the consequences which would flow from the success of the rebellion. The providences of God and the most sacred compacts of men have made us one people, and the experience of three-quarters of a century has demonstrated that in this unity of government, of country, and of people consist at once our greatness and our happiness. To dismember these States now, and cast their wretched fragments upon the wild and bloody torrent of revolution to become the prey of every audacious spoiler, would be as fatal to our repose and freedom as a nation, and to all our hopes of future prosperity, as the severance of our own bodies would be fatal to the life that is within us.

Equally fixed is the public mind in reference to the character of this war. It is not one of aggression, or conquest, or spoliation, or pas-

sion, but, in every light in which it can be regarded, it is a war of duty. The struggle is intensely one for national existence, and so hallowed in its spirit and aims that the flock and the pastor, those who worship around, and those who minister at the altar, may contribute alike their blood and treasure in its support, in full assurance, that in so doing, they come up only to the requirements of a Christian and patriotic life. It is a war of duty, because under our Christian civilization no nation can commit suicide without the perpetration of a cowardly and infamous crime; but, morally at least, that nation does commit suicide which surrenders up its life to an enemy from which courage and manhood could have saved it. It is a war of duty, because we have no right to bear our fathers' names and insult their memory by giving up, to be trodden under the feet of traitors, the noble institutions purchased by their blood. It is a war of duty, because we have no right to bestow our names upon our children stripped of that grand inheritance which belongs to them, and for the transmission of which we are but the appointed agents of the illustrious men who won it by the sword and with their lives. It is a war of duty, because, devoted as we profess to be to law and order and to the highest interests of civilization, it is among our most pressing obligations to rebuke and chastise the daring crime, which, through the Southern rebellion, is being committed, not only against ourselves, but against the very race to which we belong. It is finally a war of duty, because we have assumed to ourselves as a people, the special championship, at once of the right and of the capacity of man for self-government, and that assumption has been accepted by the lovers of freedom everywhere; and now, with the nations looking down upon us, as from the seats of some vast amphitheatre, we cannot, without treachery to our trust and complete self-degradation, suffer this sacred and sublime cause to be stricken down upon the battle-fields of the South, and left to perish there amid the jeers and contempt of kings and of despots. How often and how exultingly have they prophesied this day, and how have they longed for its coming! In the essential antagonism of their institutions to ours, and in their intense abhorrence of that system of government which gives the honors and fortunes of the world to the toiling millions who are the architects of both, how gladly would each one of them to-day build a monument to the skies, provided he could inscribe upon it these words: "In memory of the great Republic of the United States; founded by Washington, destroyed by Toombs, Twiggs, and Floyd!" What a record for humanity would that be!

Fellow-citizens, I do but utter a truth which is now sadly present to all minds, when I say that the disloyalty in our midst, especially at Washington and in the border States, has been a fruitful source of disaster and discouragement

since the very commencement of this fearful struggle. This evil has assumed, under the forbearance of the Government and people, such startling proportions, that its suppression is everywhere felt to be a paramount duty on the part of the Administration. Its prevalence has been marked by the same treacheries and gross excesses which have been its unfailing characteristics in other ages and countries. Next to the worship of the Father of our spirits, the love of our native land is at once the strongest and the noblest sentiment of which our nature is susceptible. When that sentiment has been corrupted, like an arch from which the keystone has been withdrawn, the whole moral character seems to tumble into ruins. The public and private profligacy of traitors and spies, both male and female, is vouched for by all history, and indeed has well-nigh grown into a proverb. The man who will betray his country will betray his God; he will betray his kindred and friends, and, if need be, the wife of his bosom, and the children of his loins.

This evil is to be overcome, not by mobs—whose action is for every reason to be deplored—but by the intrepidly exerted authority of the executive branch of the Government, fearlessly assuming all responsibility, and by the yet more crushing power of public opinion, branding disloyalty as socially and politically infamous, whenever and wherever encountered. The Government can never attain to the moral power required to subdue this rebellion until society, whose corruption and ruin it seeks, shall have the courage within its own circles, and at its own firesides, to denounce and stigmatize treason and traitors as they are denounced and stigmatized by the Constitution and laws. Suppose you lived in one of those cities where there is not only a steam fire engine but a paid company to operate it, retained by the corporation, and your house being on fire, and this engine and company vigorously at work to extinguish it, suppose you saw from time to time men creeping out of the crowd and stealthily letting their knives into the hose from which the water was seen to spout in every direction, upon the street and pavements, how long do you think the presence of such miscreants would be tolerated? But suppose, upon looking more closely into their faces, you should discover that quite a number of these men were members of the fire company, receiving their salaries from the very treasury to which you yourself had contributed. In the first burst of your indignation, would you not feel that if the wretches were thrown into the flames they were thus indirectly feeding, their punishment would not be too severe? And yet this has been precisely the condition of the Government of the United States. The hose with which the Administration has been striving to extinguish the fires of this rebellion, has been cut and cut continually by faithless and shameless ingrates living upon the public treasury. Vigorous and well-directed measures

have been adopted to purge the Executive Departments at Washington of these traitorous hose-cutters, and good progress has been made in the patriotic work. From the manner, however, in which information continues to reach the enemy, no doubt many of them yet remain, and are daily betraying the hand that feeds them. In this hour of imminent national danger, and threatened calamity, none should be allowed to remain a moment in the public service whose loyalty is not above all suspicion, and no loyalty can now be trusted which is not open and known of all, and which is not ardent and unceasing in its manifestations. Stringent steps too have been taken in the treatment of spies and men otherwise disloyal outside of the public service, and the country has not only approved but has warmly applauded what has been done. The rebel clamor against the suspension of the action of the writ of Habeas Corpus, has not disquieted anybody's nerves. The popular intelligence fully comprehends that the Constitution and laws were established to perpetuate the existence of the Government, and not to serve as instruments for its overthrow by affording immunity to crime and perfect freedom of action to traitors. It may be safely assumed and declared that neither the private fortune nor the personal freedom of any man or set of men can be permitted to stand in the way of the safety of a republic upon whose preservation depend the lives, the fortunes, and liberties of more than twenty-six millions of people. The Union must be preserved and the rebellion must be suppressed, and the country will sustain the Administration in the assumption and unhesitating exercise of all powers absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of these ends. A large part, however, of the disloyal men in our midst are beyond the reach of the observation and vigilance of the Government, and the correction of the evil must, therefore, largely depend upon the condemnation of public opinion. The men who give aid and comfort to the enemy by secretly furnishing them information, by advocating their cause, by sowing dissension in our midst, by insidiously discouraging loyal citizens from entering the military service, are more fatally the foes of our country than if they were in the ranks of the Confederate army, and they are, morally at least, as guilty of the death of those who fall in defence of the Government as if they had met them with loaded muskets on the battle-field—and they should be treated accordingly. I repeat it emphatically, they should be treated accordingly. In railroad cars, and on steamboats, in every thoroughfare, and in every business and social circle, disloyalty should be reprobated and blasted as a leprous and loathsome thing. When, therefore, such men offer you their hands, look well to them, and if you have the eyes which I have, you will see that they are stained with the blood of brave and true men—it may be your kindred and friends—who have perished

and are perishing still upon the battle-fields of the South, and you will turn away from them with indignation, scorn, and disgust.

There are doubtless men—few in number, I think—who sincerely believe that—the question of public honor out of view—the Republic could be severed, a peace patched up, and that the two confederacies would live on thereafter as prosperously as before. A more false and fatal thought never crept, serpent-like, into an American bosom, and that man must be utterly unread in human history who can entertain it for a moment. You might as well expect that the boat which has been turned adrift above the cataracts of Niagara will have a tranquil voyage. If you will stand, as some of us have done, amid the ruins of the crumbled empires of the old world and ask them, they will all answer you, it is a delusion. If you will enter the cemetery of nations, and lay your ear to the sepulchres of those young and brave but passion-led republics which have perished amid the convulsions of civil strife, they will tell you in accents of brokenness of heart, it is a delusion. But if you will not listen to the voices of the past, go to Mexico and South America, and ask the inhabitants of those bright lands, breathed upon, as they are, by the finest climates of the earth, occupying soils of exhaustless fertility, and living amid rivers and lakes and mountains of grandeur and of inspiration, and lifting up their bowed heads, amid demoralization and poverty and dishonor, they will tell you it is a delusion.

I rejoice to believe that the spirit of loyalty dwells at this time richly and abundantly in the popular heart of the North and West. But I do beseech you—you who have so deep a stake in the present and in the future of our country—you men of culture, of fortune, and of moral power—I do implore that by all means possible you will add yet further to the power and to the fervor of that loyalty. If it grows cold amid the calculations of avarice or craven under the discouragements of defeat, our country will be overcome. What the crisis demands is a patriotism which will abide the ordeal of fire; which is purified from all selfishness and from all fear; which is heroic and exhaustless, and which vows with every throb of life, if repulsed, it will rally, if stricken down it will rise again, and that under the pressure of no circumstances of reverse or sorrow or suffering shall the national flag be abandoned or the honor of the country be compromised. What we need is a patriotism that rises to a full comprehension of the actual and awful peril in which our institutions are placed, and that is eager to devote every power of body and mind and fortune to their deliverance—a patriotism, which, obliterating all party lines and entombing all party issues, says to the President of the United States: "Here are our lives and our estates, take them, use them freely, use them boldly, but use them successfully; for, looking upon the graves of our fathers,

and upon the cradles of our children, we have sworn that, though all things else should perish, this Government shall live." That man who thinks of party organization, and party spoils, and who seeks to distract and divide the public mind with petty questions as to how the Government shall be administered, at a time when the enemy is at the very doors of the Capital, declaring that there shall be no Government, is, in my judgment, false to the first and highest duty of an American citizen. When the children of the republic have been summoned as a band of brothers to battle for its very life, and when the banner of that republic is floating mournfully over tented fields, every wrangling flag of faction or of party that dares lift itself in its presence, should be spurned as a flag of disloyalty, if not of treason. It is such a patriotism as this, and such only, that will conduct you to victory, and I have unspeakable gratification in knowing that it is now being thoroughly awakened throughout the loyal States.

The capitalists of the country, risking every thing, have come forward with a grandeur of devotion to the country, which, while it will excite the astonishment of Europe, has already inspired the admiration and gratitude of every true American heart. All honor to them. They have proved that if there is much gold in Wall street, there is yet more patriotism there—not a summer patriotism that flourishes amid the pæans of victory, but a patriotism which struggles and sacrifices and suffers, even in the winter of adversity and amid the very gloom of national humiliation. Unless the American people can thus feel, there is imminent danger that the sun of our national life, now obscured, will yet go down forever amid storms and darkness. If all our great material interests are depressed and desolated by the shadow now resting upon that sun, what would be our condition were that shadow deepened into the night of permanent defeat? Is there nothing to live for but the gains of our commerce and the embellishment of our estates and homes—nothing but our personal ease and comfort? Are honor and manhood and loyalty and national fame and the respect and homage of the world nothing? Is it nothing to live without a country and without a flag, without a future for ourselves and our children, and to stand forth the degenerate and abased descendants of a great ancestry? We might indeed abjectly lay ourselves in the dust and be stripped by traitor hands of all that ennobles and sweetens human existence, and still live on as do the cattle of the fields; but our lives would be far more ignoble than theirs. If, with all our vast material resources, and our known and acknowledged superiority of physical force over the rebels; if, with all the profuse avowals of devotion to our institutions which we have so clamorously made, we still suffer this rebellion to triumph over us, I verily believe that the American name will become a stench in the

nostrils of the world, and that an American citizen will not be able to walk the streets of a European Capital without having the finger of scorn pointed at him and without being covered with contumely and derision.

If I might be permitted to speak a single word upon such a subject, I would earnestly counsel patience and forbearance in reference to those charged with the administration of the Government. Before criticizing, we should remember that we may not see the whole field of action, and may not therefore be in a condition justly to appreciate the difficulties to be overcome. No man can doubt the courage or the loyalty of the President of the United States, or his determination to suppress this rebellion. To him, under the Constitution, the public voice has absolutely committed the fate of the Republic; his hands are emphatically your hands, and in weakening him, you necessarily weaken yourselves, and weaken the struggling country we are all laboring to save. He, too, is at this moment overwhelmed with mountains of toil and of responsibility, such as have pressed upon no public man in our history, and he is fully entitled to all the support and consolation which a generous and warm-hearted patriotism can possibly give him.

Fellow-citizens, amid all the discouragements that surround us, I have still an unflinching faith in human progress and in the capacity of man for self-government. I believe that the blood which the true and the heroic lovers of our race have shed upon more than a thousand fields, has borne fruit and that that fruit is the Republic of the United States. It came forth upon the world like the morning sun from his chamber; its pathway has been a pathway of light and glory, and it has poured its blessings upon its people in the brimming fulness with which the rivers pour their waters into the sea. I cannot admit to my bosom the crushing thought that in the full blaze of the Christian civilization of the nineteenth century such a Government is fated to fall beneath the swords of the guilty men now banded together for its overthrow. I cannot, I will not believe that twenty millions of people, cultivated, courageous, and loyal—twenty millions of the Anglo-Saxon race—bearing the names of the heroes of the Revolution and passing their lives amid the inspirations of its battle-fields, will ignominiously suffer their institutions to be overturned by ten millions, nearly one-half of whom are helpless slaves with fetters on their hands. No page of history so dark and so humiliating as this has yet been written of any portion of the human family, and it were far better that the American people should never have been born than that they should live to have such a history written of themselves.

The skirts of the loyal States are free from the guilt and wretchedness of this fratricidal strife. History will bear testimony how zealously, how unceasingly, and, I must add, how successfully, the Government of the United

States has striven to protect all the constitutional rights and institutions of the South, despite of all that the South herself has done and is doing to sacrifice them. The blows we are now called upon to strike, we will deal standing upon the threshold of our national life, and they will fall upon those who, under the promptings of a maddened ambition, would, with armed hordes, cross that threshold and destroy us. Let us then thoroughly rouse and nerve ourselves to the great work of duty that is before us. If it is to be done well, it should be done quickly. If we would spare both blood and treasure, we should move promptly and mightily. Were it possible at this moment to precipitate the whole physical force of the loyal States as an avalanche upon the South, it would be a measure not only of wisdom and economy, but eminently one of humanity also. Let us have faith and hope and courage, and all will yet be well.

Fellow-citizens: I feel that I may have spoken to you with more emphasis and with more earnestness of suggestion than I am privileged to employ in your presence. If I have done so, you will forgive the freedom—I know you will—to that terrible conjuncture of public affairs in which it is my fortune to address you. If I had more interest than you have, or less interest than you have, in the tragic events and issues to which we have referred, you might well distrust me; but I have precisely the same. If this Union is dismembered and the Government subverted, the grave of every earthly hope will open at my feet and it will open at your feet also. In the lives of families and of nations there arise from time to time emergencies of danger which press all their members into the same common council chamber; and when the tempest is raging at sea, and all nautical skill seems at fault, and the laboring, quivering vessel shrieks out from every joint the agony of the conflict, all who are on board—alike the humblest sailor and the obscurest passenger—may rightfully speak, on that great principle of our nature which no human institutions can modify and no human despotism can subdue—the right of self-preservation. Even so, amid the heady currents of this national tragedy, I, but an humble citizen of our distracted and bleeding country, have ventured to lift up tonight the voice of counsel and of entreaty in your hearing.

William Curtis Noyes, Esq., followed Mr. Holt, in a speech of great eloquence and beauty, for which we have space for only a short quotation. He said: "And now, Mr. President, I have to express my thanks to the honorable

gentleman from Kentucky for the eminent public services which he has rendered —(applause)—not only in behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, but in behalf of the city of New York, —(cheers)—and I know I may say in behalf of the State of New York. (Applause.) New York gives her hand to Kentucky. [Shakes hands with Mr. Holt amid tremendous cheering.] She will give both hands, with her heart in it, to Kentucky. (Renewed cheering.) You, sir, found the Government in a condition of great pressure; you gave it an impetus which brought it out of the rough sea in which it was wallowing. Another republic, at the period of its lowest depression, manfully acknowledged it by placing upon its coins a ship in full sail, under full canvas, knocked down almost in the trough of the sea, and they had for their motto—"She drifts, none knows whither." We drift, we know where, and you are responsible for that drift. (Cheers.) Go on, sir, in your work of patriotism and benevolence; go through the country and rouse it by the eloquent appeals that you can make, such as we have listened to to-night. (Applause.) Go on, sir, and may God prosper you in it, and you will receive as great a future reward in bringing this country to its right position upon these great questions as the great orator of Athens received when he made his denunciations against Philip of Macedon. (Loud cheering.) I beg leave to offer in conclusion, sir, this resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the Hon. Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, by his unsullied character, in private as well as in public life; by his unflinching devotion to the Constitution and the Union; by the prompt and successful measures promoted by him for their defence, and for the protection of the capital when in imminent peril from traitorous domestic foes; by his patriotic efforts throughout the country, and especially in his own State, in rallying the people to the support of the national flag and our national integrity, and by his stirring and eloquent appeal on this occasion, has entitled himself to the gratitude of his countrymen and to the admiration of the lovers of freedom and free popular institutions everywhere; and that the thanks of this assembly be, and they are hereby gratefully tendered to him."

The resolution was received with acclamations of applause.

After loud and repeated calls, Mr. Holt rose for a moment, and said: "I need not say, fellow-citizens, that if the pulsations of my heart were words, they would tell you what I can never do—how deeply I thank you." (Loud and continued applause.)

3
THE FALLACY OF NEUTRALITY.

AN ADDRESS

BY THE

HON. JOSEPH HOLT,

TO THE PEOPLE OF KENTUCKY,

DELIVERED AT LOUISVILLE, JULY 13TH, 1861;

ALSO

HIS LETTER TO J. F. SPEED ESQ.

NEW YORK:

JAMES G. GREGORY,

(SUCCESSOR TO W. A. TOWNSEND & CO.,)

NO. 46 WALKER STREET.

1861.

C. A. ALVOED, PRINTER.

ADDRESS OF HON. JOSEPH HOLT.

Mr. HOLT was next introduced to the audience by Hon. HENRY PIRTLE, who addressed him a few words of welcome.

Then taking the stand, amid prolonged cheers, Mr. HOLT spoke as follows:—

JUDGE PIRTLE: I beg you to be assured that I am most thankful for this distinguished and flattering welcome, and for every one of the kind words which have just fallen from your lips, as I am for the hearty response they have received. Spoken by anybody and anywhere, these words would have been cherished by me; but spoken by yourself and in the presence and on behalf of those in whose midst I commenced the battle of life, whose friendship I have ever labored to deserve, and in whose fortunes I have ever felt the liveliest sympathy, they are doubly grateful to my feelings. I take no credit to myself for loving and being faithful to such a government as this, or for uttering, as I do, with every throb of my existence, a prayer for its preservation. In regard to my official conduct, to which you have alluded with such earnest and generous commendation, I must say that no merit can be accorded to me beyond that of having humbly but sincerely struggled to perform a public duty, amid embarrassments which the world can never fully know. In reviewing what is past, I have and shall ever have a bitter sorrow, that, while I was enabled to accomplish so little in behalf of our betrayed and suffering country, others were enabled to accomplish so much against it. You do me exceeding honor in associating me in your remembrance with the hero of Fort Sumter. There is about his name an atmosphere of light that can never grow dim. Surrounded with his little band, by batteries of treason and by infuriated thousands of traitors, the fires upon the altar of patriotism at which he ministered, only waxed the brighter for the gloom that enveloped him, and history will never forget that it was from these fires that was kindled that conflagration that now blazes throughout the length and breadth of the land. Brave among the bravest, incorruptible and unconquerable in his loyalty, amid all the perplexities and trials and sore humiliations that beset him, he well deserves that exalted position in the affections and confidence of

the people that he now enjoys; and while none have had better opportunities of knowing this than myself, so I am sure that none could have a prouder joy in bearing testimony to it than I have to-night.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: A few weeks since, in another form, I ventured freely to express my views upon those tragic events which have brought sorrow to every hearthstone and to every heart in our distracted country, and it is not my purpose on this occasion to repeat those views, or to engage in any extended discussion of the questions then examined. It is not necessary that I should do so, since the argument is exhausted, and the popular mind is perfectly familiar with it in all its bearings. I will, however, with your permission, submit a few brief observations upon the absorbing topics of the day, and if I do so with an earnestness and emphasis due alike to the sincerity of my convictions and to the magnitude of the interests involved, it is trusted that none will be offended, not even those who may most widely differ from me.

Could one, an entire stranger to our history, now look down upon the South, and see there a hundred or a hundred and fifty thousand men marching in hostile array, threatening the capture of the capital and the dismemberment of the territory of the republic; and could he look again and see that this army is marshalled and directed by officers recently occupying distinguished places in the civil and military service of the country; and further that the states from which this army has been drawn appear to be one vast, seething cauldron of ferocious passion, he would very naturally conclude that the government of the United States had committed some great crime against its people, and that this uprising was in resistance to wrong and outrages which had been borne until endurance was no longer possible. And yet no conclusion could be further from the truth than this. The government of the United States has been faithful to all its constitutional obligations. For eighty years it has maintained the national honor at home and abroad, and by its prowess, its wisdom, and its justice, has given to the title of an American citizen an elevation among the nations of the earth which the citizens of no republic has enjoyed since Rome was mistress of the world. Under its administration the national domain has stretched away to the Pacific, and that constellation which announced our birth as a people, has expanded from thirteen to thirty-four stars, all, until recently, moving undisturbed and undimmed in their orbs of light and grandeur. The rights of no states have been invaded; no man's property has been despoiled, no man's liberty abridged, no man's life oppressively jeopardized by the action of this government. Under its benign influences the rills of public and private prosperity have swelled into rivulets, and from rivulets into rivers ever brimming in their fullness, and everywhere, and at all periods of its history, its ministrations have fallen as gently on the people of the United States as do the dews of a Summer's night on the flowers and grass of the gardens and fields.

Whence, then, this revolutionary outbreak? Whence the secret spring of this gigantic conspiracy, which, like some huge boa, had completely coiled itself around the limbs and body of the republic, before a single hand was lifted to resist it? Strange, and indeed startling, as the announcement must appear when it falls on the ears of the next generation, the national tragedy, in whose shadow we stand to-night, has come upon us because, in November last, JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE was not elected President of the United States, and ABRAHAM LINCOLN was. This is the whole story. And I would pray now to know on what was JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE fed that he has grown so great, that a republic founded by WASHINGTON and cemented by the best blood that has ever coursed in human veins, is to be overthrown because, forsooth, he cannot be its President? Had he been chosen we well know that we should not have heard of this rebellion, for the lever with which it is being moved would have been wanting to the hands of the conspirators. Even after his defeat, could it have been guaranteed, beyond all peradventure, that JEFF. DAVIS, or some other kindred spirit, would be the successor of Mr. LINCOLN, I presume we hazard nothing in assuming that this atrocious movement against the government would not have been set on foot. So much for the principle involved in it. This great crime, then, with which we are grappling, sprang from that "sin by which the angels fell"—an unmastered and profligate ambition—an ambition that "would rather reign in hell than serve in heaven"—that would rather rule supremely over a shattered fragment of the republic than run the chances of sharing with others the honors of the whole.

The conspirators of the South read in the election of Mr. LINCOLN a declaration that the Democratic party had been prostrated, if not finally destroyed, by the selfish intrigues and corruptions of its leaders; they read, too, that the vicious, emaciated, and spavined hobby of the slavery agitation, on which they had so often rode into power, could no longer carry them beyond a given geographical line of our territory, and that in truth this factious and treasonable agitation, on which so many of them had grown great by debauching and denationalizing the mind of a people naturally generous and patriotic, had run its course, and hence, that from the national disgust for this demagoguing, and for the inexorable law of population, the time had come when all those who had no other political capital than this, would have to prepare for retirement to private life, so far at least as the highest offices of the country were concerned. Under the influence of these grim discouragements they resolved to consummate at once—what our political history shows to have been a long-cherished purpose—the dismemberment of the government. They said to themselves: "Since we can no longer monopolize the great offices of the republic as we have been accustomed to do, we will destroy it and build upon its ruins an empire that shall be all our own, and whose spoils neither the North nor the East nor the West shall share

with us." Deplorable and humiliating as this certainly is, it is but a rehearsal of the sad, sad story of the past. We had, indeed, supposed that under our Christian civilization we had reached a point in human progress, when a republic could exist without having its life sought by its own offspring; but the Catilines of the South have proved that we were mistaken. Let no man imagine that because this rebellion has been made by men renowned in our civil and military history, that it is, therefore, the less guilty or the less courageously to be resisted. It is precisely this class of men who have subverted the best governments that have ever existed. The purest spirits that have lived in the tide of times, the noblest institutions that have arisen to bless our race, have found among those in whom they had most confided, and whom they had most honored, men wicked enough, either secretly to betray them unto death, or openly to seek their overthrow by lawless violence. The republic of England had its Monk; the republic of France had its BONAPARTE; the republic of Rome had its CÆSAR and its CATILINE, and the Saviour of the world had his Judas Iscariot. It cannot be necessary that I should declare to you, for you know them well, who they are whose parricidal swords are now unsheathed against the republic of the United States. Their names are inscribed upon a scroll of infamy that can never perish. The most distinguished of them were educated by the charity of the government on which they are now making war. For long years they were fed from its table, and clothed from its wardrobe, and had their brows garlanded by its honors. They are the ungrateful sons of a, fond mother, who dandled them upon her knee, who lavished upon them the gushing love of her noble and devoted nature, and who nurtured them from the very bosom of her life; and now, in the frenzied excesses of a licentious and baffled ambition, they are stabbing at that bosom with the ferocity with which the tiger springs upon his prey. The President of the United States is heroically and patriotically struggling to baffle the machinations of these most wicked men. I have unbounded gratification in knowing that he has the courage to look traitors in the face, and that, in discharging the duties of his great office, he takes no counsel of his fears. He is entitled to the zealous support of the whole country, and, may I not add without offence, that he will receive the support of all who justly appreciate the boundless blessings of our free institutions?

If this rebellion succeeds it will involve necessarily the destruction of our nationality, the division of our territory, the permanent disruption of the republic. It must rapidly dry up the sources of our material prosperity, and year by year we shall grow more and more impoverished, more and more revolutionary, enfeebled, and debased. Each returning election will bring with it grounds for new civil commotions, and traitors, prepared to strike at the country that has rejected their claims to power, will spring up on every side. Disunion once begun will go on and on indefinitely, and under the in-

fluence of the fatal doctrine of secession, not only will states secede from states, but counties will secede from states also, and towns and cities from counties, until universal anarchy will be consummated in each individual who can make good his position by force of arms, claiming the right to defy the power of the government. Thus we should have brought back to us the days of the robber barons with their moated castles and marauding retainers. This doctrine when analyzed is simply a declaration that no physical force shall ever be employed in executing the laws or upholding the government, and a government into whose practical administration such a principle has been introduced, could no more continue to exist than a man could live with an angered cobra in his bosom. If you would know what are the legitimate fruits of secession, look at Virginia and Tennessee, which have so lately given themselves up to the embrace of this monster. There the schools are deserted; the courts of justice closed; public and private credit destroyed; commerce annihilated, debts repudiated; confiscations and spoliation everywhere prevailing; every cheek blanched with fear, and every heart frozen with despair; and all over that desolated land the hand of infuriated passion and crime is waving, with a vulture's scream for blood, the sword of civil war. And this is the Pandemonium which some would have transferred to Kentucky.

But I am not here to discuss this proposition to-night. I wish solemnly to declare before you and the world, that I am for this Union without conditions, one and indivisible, now and forever. I am for its preservation at any and every cost of blood and treasure against all its assailants. I know no neutrality between my country and its foes, whether they be foreign or domestic; no neutrality between that glorious flag which now floats over us, and the ingrates and traitors who would trample it in the dust. My prayer is for victory, complete, enduring and overwhelming, to the armies of the republic over all its enemies. I am against any and every compromise that may be proposed to be made under the guns of the rebels, while, at the same time, I am decidedly in favor of affording every reasonable guarantee for the safety of Southern institutions, which the honest convictions of the people—not the conspirators—of the South may demand, *whenever they shall lay down their arms, but not until then*. The arbitrament of the sword has been defiantly thrust into the face of the government and country, and there is no honorable escape from it. All guarantees and all attempts at adjustment by amendments to the constitution are now scornfully rejected, and the leaders of the rebellion openly proclaim that they are fighting for their independence. In this contemptuous rejection of guarantees, and in this avowal of the objects of the rebellion now so audaciously made, we have a complete exposure of that fraud which, through the slavery agitation, has been practised upon the public credulity for the last fifteen or twenty years. In the light of this revelation, we feel as one awakened from the suffocating

tortures of a nightmare, and realize what a baseless dream our apprehensions have been, and of what a traitorous swindle we have been made the victims. They are fighting for their independence! Independence of what? Independence of those laws which they themselves have aided in enacting; independence of that constitution which their fathers framed and to which they are parties and subject by inheritance; independence of that beneficent government on whose treasury and honors they have grown strong and illustrious. When a man commits a robbery on the highway, or a murder in the dark, he thereby declares his independence of the laws under which he lives, and of the society of which he is a member. Should he, when arraigned, avow and justify the offence, he thereby becomes the advocate of the independence he has thus declared; and, if he resists by force of arms the officer, when dragging him to the prison, the penitentiary, or the gallows, he is thereby fighting for the independence he has thus declared and advocated; and such is the condition of the conspirators of the South at this moment. It is no longer a question of Southern rights, which have never been violated, nor of security of Southern institutions, which we know perfectly well have never been interfered with by the general government, but it is purely with us a question of national existence. In meeting this terrible issue which rebellion has made up with the loyal men of the country, we stand upon ground infinitely above all party lines and party platforms—ground as sublime as that on which our fathers stood when they fought the battles of the revolution. I am for throwing into the contest thus forced upon us all the material and moral resources and energies of the nation, in order that the struggle may be brief and as little sanguinary as possible. It is hoped that we shall soon see in the field half a million of patriotic volunteers, marching in columns which will be perfectly irresistible, and, borne in their hands—for no purpose of conquest or subjugation, but of protection only—we may expect within nine months to see the stars and stripes floating in every Southern breeze, and hear going up, wild as the storm, the exultant shout of that emancipated people over their deliverance from the revolutionary terror and despotism, by which they are now tormented and oppressed. The war, conducted on such a scale, will not cost exceeding four or five hundred millions of dollars; and none need be startled at the vastness of this expenditure. The debt thus created will press but slightly upon us; it will be paid and gladly paid by posterity, who will make the best bargain which has been made since the world began, if they can secure to themselves, in its integrity and blessings, such a government as this, at such a cost. But, if in this anticipation we are doomed to disappointment; if the people of the United States have already become so degenerate—may I not say so craven—in the presence of their foes as to surrender up this republic to be dismembered and subverted by the traitors who have reared the standard of revolt against it, then, I trust, the volume of Ameri-

can history will be closed and sealed up forever, and that those who shall survive this national humiliation will take unto themselves some other name,—some name having no relation to the past, no relation to our great ancestors, no relation to those monuments and battle-fields which commemorate alike their heroism, their loyalty, and their glory.

But with the curled lip of scorn we are told by the disunionists that in thus supporting a Republican administration in its endeavors to uphold the constitution and the laws, we are "submissionists," and when they have pronounced this word, they suppose they have imputed to us the sum of all human abasement. Well, let it be confessed; we are "submissionists," and weak and spiritless as it may be deemed by some, we glory in the position we occupy. For example: the law says, "Thou shalt not steal;" we submit to this law, and would not for the world's worth rob our neighbor of his forts, his arsenals, his arms, his munitions of war, his hospital stores, or any thing that is his. Indeed, so impressed are we with the obligations of this law, that we would no more think of plundering from our neighbor half a million of dollars because found in his unprotected mints, than we would think of filching a purse from his pocket in a crowded thoroughfare. Write us down, therefore, "submissionists." Again: the law says, "Thou shalt not swear falsely;" we submit to this law, and while in the civil or military service of the country, with an oath to support the constitution of the United States resting upon our consciences, we would not for any earthly consideration engage in the formation or execution of a conspiracy to subvert that very constitution, and with it the government to which it has given birth. Write us down, therefore, again, "submissionists." Yet again: when a President has been elected in strict accordance with the form and spirit of the constitution, and has been regularly installed into office, and is honestly striving to discharge his duty by snatching the republic from the jaws of a gigantic treason which threatens to crush it, we care not what his name may or may not be, or what the designation of his political party, or what the platform on which he stood during the presidential canvass; we believe we fulfil in the sight of earth and heaven our highest obligations to our country, in giving to him an earnest and loyal support in the struggle in which he is engaged.

Nor are we at all disturbed by the flippant taunt that in thus submitting to the authority of our government we are necessarily cowards. We know whence this taunt comes, and we estimate it at its true value. We hold that there is a higher courage in the performance of duty than in the commission of crime. The tiger of the jungle and the cannibal of the South Sea Islands have that courage in which the revolutionists of the day make their especial boast; the angels of God and the spirits of just men made perfect have had, and have that courage which submits to the laws. Lucifer was a non-submissionist, and the first secessionist of whom history has given us any

account, and the chains which he wears fitly, express the fate due to all who openly defy the laws of their Creator and of their country. He rebelled because the Almighty would not yield to him the throne of heaven. The principle of the Southern rebellion is the same. Indeed, in this submission to the laws is found the chief distinction between good men and devils. A good man obeys the laws of truth, of honesty, of morality, and all those laws which have been enacted by competent authority for the government and protection of the country in which he lives; a devil obeys only his own ferocious and profligate passions. The principle on which this rebellion proceeds, that laws have in themselves no sanctions, no binding force upon the conscience, and that every man, under the promptings of interest, or passion, or caprice, may, at will, and honorably too, strike at the government that shelters him, is one of utter demoralization, and should be trodden out as you would tread on a spark that has fallen on the roof of your dwelling. Its unchecked prevalence would resolve society into chaos, and leave you without the slightest guarantee for life, liberty, or property. It is time that, in their majesty, the people of the United States should make known to the world that this government, in its dignity and power, is something more than a moot court, and that the citizen who makes war upon it is a traitor, not only in theory but in fact, and should have meted out to him a traitor's doom. The country wants no bloody sacrifice, but it must and will have peace, cost what it may.

Before closing, I desire to say a few words on the relations of Kentucky to the pending rebellion; and as we are all Kentuckians here together to-night, and as this is purely a family matter, which concerns the honor of us all, I hope we may be permitted to speak to each other upon it with entire freedom. I shall not detain you with observations on the hostile and defiant position assumed by the governor of your state. In his reply to the requisition made upon him for volunteers under the proclamation of the President, he has, in my judgment, written and finished his own history, his epitaph included, and it is probable that in future the world will little concern itself as to what his excellency may propose to do, or as to what he may propose not to do. That response has made for Kentucky a record that has already brought a burning blush to the cheek of many of her sons, and is destined to bring it to the cheek of many more in the years which are to come. It is a shame, indeed a crying shame, that a state with so illustrious a past should have written for her, by her own chief magistrate, a page of history so utterly humiliating as this. But your legislature have determined that during the present unhappy war the attitude of the state shall be that of strict neutrality, and it is upon this determination that I wish respectfully but frankly to comment. As the motives which governed the legislature were doubtless patriotic and conservative, the conclusion arrived at cannot be condemned as dishonorable; still, in view of the manifest duty of the state and

of possible results, I cannot but regard it as mistaken and false, and one which may have fatal consequences. Strictly and legally speaking, Kentucky must go out of the Union before she can be neutral. Within it she is necessarily either faithful to the government of the United States, or she is disloyal to it. If this crutch of neutrality, upon which her well-meaning but ill-judging politicians are halting, can find any middle ground on which to rest, it has escaped my researches, though I have diligently sought it. Neutrality, in the sense of those who now use the term, however patriotically designed, is, in effect, but a snake in the grass of rebellion, and those who handle it will sooner or later feel its fangs. Said one who spake as never man spake, "He who is not with us is against us;" and of none of the conflicts which have arisen between men or between nations, could this be more truthfully said than of that in which we are now involved. Neutrality necessarily implies indifference. Is Kentucky indifferent to the issue of this contest? Has she, indeed, nothing at stake? Has she no compact with her sister states to keep, no plighted faith to uphold, no renown to sustain, no glory to win? Has she no horror of that crime of crimes now being committed against us by that stupendous rebellion which has arisen like a tempest-cloud in the South? We rejoice to know that she is still a member of this Union, and as such she has the same interest in resisting this rebellion that each limb of the body has in resisting a poignard whose point is aimed at the heart. It is her house that is on fire; has she no interest in extinguishing the conflagration? Will she stand aloof and announce herself neutral between the raging flames and the brave men who are periling their lives to subdue them? Hundreds of thousands of citizens of other states—men of culture and character, of thought and of toil—men who have a deep stake in life, and an intense appreciation of its duties and responsibilities, who know the worth of this blessed government of ours, and do not prize even their own blood above it—I say, hundreds of thousands of such men have left their homes, their workshops, their offices, their counting-houses, and their fields, and are now rallying about our flag, freely offering their all to sustain it, and since the days that crusading Europe threw its hosts upon the embattled plains of Asia, no deeper, or more earnest, or grander spirit has stirred the souls of men than that which now sways those mighty masses whose gleaming banners are destined ere long to make bright again the earth and sky of the distracted South. Can Kentucky look upon this sublime spectacle of patriotism unmoved, and then say to herself: "I will spend neither blood nor treasure, but I will shrink away while the battle rages, and after it has been fought and won, I will return to the camp, well assured that if I cannot claim the laurels, I will at least enjoy the blessings of the victory?" Is this all that remains of her chivalry—of the chivalry of the land of the Shelys, the Johnsons, the Allens, the Clays, the Adairs, and the Davises? Is there a Kentuckian within the sound of my voice to-night, who

can hear the anguished cry of his country as she wrestles and writhes in the folds of this gigantic treason, and then lay himself down upon his pillow with this thought of neutrality, without feeling that he has something in his bosom which stings him worse than would an adder? Have we, within the brief period of eighty years, descended so far from the mountain heights on which our fathers stood, that already, in our degeneracy, we proclaim our blood too precious, our treasure too valuable to be devoted to the preservation of such a government as this? They fought through a seven years' war, with the greatest power on earth, for the hope, the bare hope, of being able to found this republic, and now that it is no longer a hope nor an experiment, but a glorious reality, which has excited the admiration and the homage of the nations, and has covered us with blessings as "the waters cover the channels of the sea," have we, their children, no years of toil, of sacrifice, and of battle even, if need be, to give, to save it from absolute destruction at the hands of men who, steeped in guilt, are perpetrating against us and humanity a crime, for which I verily believe the blackest page of the history of the world's darkest period furnishes no parallel? Can it be possible that in the history of the American people we have already reached a point of degeneracy so low, that the work of WASHINGTON and FRANKLIN, of ADAMS and JEFFERSON, of HANCOCK and HENRY, is to be overthrown by the morally begrimed and pigmied conspirators who are now tugging at its foundations? It would be the overturning of the Andes by the miserable reptiles that are crawling in the sands at their base.

But our neutral fellow-citizens in the tenderness of their hearts say: "This effusion of blood sickens us." Then do all in your power to bring it to an end. Let the whole strength of this commonwealth be put forth in support of the government, in order that the war may be terminated by a prompt suppression of the rebellion. The longer the struggle continues, the fiercer will be its spirit, and the more fearful the waste of life attending it. You therefore only aggravate the calamity you deplore by standing aloof from the combat. But again they say, "we cannot fight our brethren." Indeed. But your brethren can fight you, and with a good will, too. Wickedly and wantonly have they commenced this war against you and your institutions, and ferociously are they prosecuting it. They take no account of the fact that the massacre with which they hope their swords will, ere long, be clogged, must be the massacre of their brethren. However much we may bow our heads at the confession, it is nevertheless true that every free people that have existed have been obliged, at one period or other of their history, to fight for their liberties against traitors within their own bosoms, and that people who have not the greatness of soul thus to fight, cannot long continue to be free, nor do they deserve to be so.

There is not, and there cannot be, any neutral ground for a loyal people between their own government and those who, at the head of armies, are

menacing its destruction. Your inaction is not neutrality, though you may delude yourselves with the belief that it is so. With this rebellion confronting you, when you refuse to co-operate actively with your government in subduing it, you thereby condemn the government, and assume towards it an attitude of antagonism. Your inaction is a virtual indorsement of the rebellion, and if you do not thereby give to the rebels precisely that "aid and comfort" spoken of in the constitution, you certainly afford them a most powerful encouragement and support. That they regard your present position as friendly to them, is proved by the fact that, in a recent enactment of the Confederate Congress confiscating the debts due from their own citizens to those of loyal states, the debts due to the people of Kentucky are expressly excepted. Is not this significant? Does it leave any room for doubt that the Confederate Congress suppose they have discovered, under the guise of your neutrality, a lurking sympathy for their cause which entitles you to be treated as friends, if not as active allies? Patriotic as was the purpose of her apprehensive statesmen in placing her in the anomalous position she now occupies, it cannot be denied that Kentucky by her present attitude is exerting a potent influence in strengthening the rebellion, and is, therefore, false alike to her loyalty and to her fame. You may rest well assured that this estimate of your neutrality is entertained by the true men of the country in all the states which are now sustaining the government. Within the last few weeks how many of those gallant volunteers who have left home and kindred and all that is dear to them, and are now under a Southern sun, exposing themselves to death from disease and to death from battle, and are accounting their lives as nothing in the effort they are making for the deliverance of your government and theirs; how many of them have said to me in sadness and in longing, "Will not Kentucky help me?" How my soul would have leaped could I have answered promptly, confidently, exultingly, "Yes, she will." But when I thought of this neutrality my heart sank within me, and I did not and I could not look those brave men in the face. And yet I could not answer, "No." I could not crush myself to the earth under the self-abasement of such a reply. I therefore said—and may my country sustain me—"I hope, I trust, I pray, nay, I believe Kentucky will yet do her duty."

If this government is to be destroyed, ask yourselves are you willing it shall be recorded in history that Kentucky stood by in the greatness of her strength and lifted not a hand to stay the catastrophe? If it is to be saved, as I verily believe it is, are you willing it shall be written that, in the immeasurable glory which must attend the achievement, Kentucky had no part?

I will only add, if Kentucky wishes the waters of her beautiful Ohio to be dyed in blood—if she wishes her harvest fields, now waving in their abundance, to be trampled beneath the feet of hostile soldiery, as a flower-garden is trampled beneath the threshings of the tempest—if she wishes the homes where her loved ones are now gathered in peace, invaded by the proscriptive

fury of a military despotism, sparing neither life nor property—if she wishes the streets of her towns and cities grown with grass, and the steamboats of her rivers to lie rotting at her wharves, then let her join the Southern Confederacy; but if she would have the bright waters of that river flow on in their gladness—if she would have her harvests peacefully gathered to her garner—*if she would have the lullabies of her cradles and the songs of her homes uninvaded by the cries and terrors of battle—if she would have the streets of her towns and cities again filled with the hum and throngs of busy trade, and her rivers and her shores once more vocal with the steamer's whistle, that anthem of a free and prosperous commerce, then let her stand fast by the stars and stripes, and do her duty and her whole duty as a member of this Union. Let her brave people say to the President of the United States: "You are our chief magistrate; the government you have in charge, and are striving to save from dishonor and dismemberment, is our government; your cause is indeed our cause; your battles are our battles; make room for us, therefore, in the ranks of your armies, that your triumph may be our triumph also."*

Even as with the Father of us all I would plead for salvation, so, my countrymen, as upon my very knees, would I plead with you for the life, *aye for the life, of our great and beneficent institutions. But if the traitor's knife, now at the throat of the republic, is to do its work, and this government is fated to add yet another to that long line of sepulchres which whiten the highway of the past, then my heartfelt prayer to God is, that it may be written in history, that the blood of its life was not found upon the skirts of Kentucky.*

LETTER OF HON. JOSEPH HOLT.

WASHINGTON, *Friday, May 31, 1861.*

J. F. SPEED, Esq.

My Dear Sir: The recent overwhelming vote in favor of the Union in Kentucky has afforded unspeakable gratification to all true men throughout the country. That vote indicates that the people of that gallant state have been neither seduced by the arts nor terrified by the menaces of the revolutionists in their midst, and that it is their fixed purpose to remain faithful to a government which, for nearly seventy years, has remained faithful to them. Still it cannot be denied that there is in the bosom of that state a band of agitators, who, though few in number, are yet powerful from the public confidence they have enjoyed, and who have been, and doubtless will continue to be, unceasing in their endeavor to force Kentucky to unite her fortunes with those of the rebel Confederacy of the South. In view of this and of the well-known fact that several of the seceded states have by fraud and violence been driven to occupy their present false and fatal position, I cannot, even with the encouragement of her late vote before me, look upon the political future of our native state without a painful solicitude. Never have the safety and honor of her people required the exercise of so much vigilance and of so much courage on their part. If true to themselves, the stars and stripes, which, like angel's wings, have so long guarded their homes from every oppression, will still be theirs; but if, chasing the dreams of men's ambition, they shall prove false, the blackness of darkness can but faintly predict the gloom that awaits them. The legislature, it seems, has determined by resolution that the state, pending the present unhappy war, shall occupy neutral ground. *I must say, in all frankness, and without desiring to reflect upon the course or sentiments of any, that, in this struggle for the existence of our government, I can neither practise nor profess nor feel neutrality. I would as soon think of being neutral in a contest between an officer of justice and an incendiary arrested in an attempt to fire the dwelling over my head; for the government whose overthrow is sought, is for me the shelter not only of home, kindred and friends, but of every earthly blessing which I can hope to enjoy on*

this side of the grave. If, however, from a natural horror of fratricidal strife, or from her intimate social and business relations with the South, Kentucky shall determine to maintain the neutral attitude assumed for her by her legislature, her position will still be an honorable one, though falling far short of that full measure of loyalty which her history has so constantly illustrated. Her executive, ignoring, as I am happy to believe, alike the popular and legislative sentiment of the state, has, by proclamation, forbidden the government of the United States from marching troops across her territory. This is in no sense a neutral step, but one of aggressive hostility. The troops of the Federal Government have as clear a constitutional right to pass over the soil of Kentucky as they have to march along the streets of Washington; and could this prohibition be effective, it would not only be a violation of the fundamental law, but would, in all its tendencies, be directly in advancement of the revolution, and might, in an emergency easily imagined, compromise the highest national interests. I was rejoiced that the legislature so promptly refused to endorse this proclamation as expressive of the true policy of the state. But I turn away from even this to the ballot-box, and find an abounding consolation in the conviction it inspires, that the popular heart of Kentucky, in its devotion to the Union, is far in advance alike of legislative resolve and executive proclamation.

But as it is well understood that the late popular demonstration has rather scotched than killed rebellion in Kentucky, I propose inquiring, as briefly as practicable, whether in the recent action or present declared policy of the administration, or in the history of the pending revolution, or in the objects it seeks to accomplish, or in the results which must follow from it, if successful, there can be discovered any reasons why that state should sever the ties that unite her with a Confederacy in whose councils and upon whose battle-fields she has won so much fame, and under whose protection she has enjoyed so much prosperity.

For more than a month after the inauguration of President LINCOLN, the manifestations seemed unequivocal that his administration would seek a peaceful solution of our unhappy political troubles, and would look to time and amendments of the Federal Constitution, adopted in accordance with its provisions, to bring back the revolted states to their allegiance. So marked was the effect of these manifestations in tranquilizing the border states and in reassuring their loyalty, that the conspirators who had set this revolution on foot took the alarm. *While affecting to despise these states as not sufficiently intensified in their devotion to African servitude, they knew they could never succeed in their treasonable enterprise without their support. Hence it was resolved to precipitate a collision of arms with the federal authorities, in the hope that under the panic and exasperation incident to the commencement of a civil war, the border states, following the natural bent of their sympathies, would array themselves against the government.* Fort Sumter, occupied by a

feeble garrison, and girdled by powerful if not impregnable batteries, afforded convenient means for accomplishing their purpose, and for testing also their theory, that blood was needed to cement the new Confederacy. Its provisions were exhausted, and the request made by the President, in the interests of peace and humanity, for the privilege of replenishing its stores, had been refused. The Confederate authorities were aware—for so the gallant commander of the fort had declared to them—that in two days a capitulation from starvation must take place. A peaceful surrender, however, would not have subserved their aims. They sought the clash of arms and the effusion of blood as an instrumentality for impressing the border states, and they sought the humiliation of the government and the dishonor of its flag as a means of giving prestige to their own cause. The result is known. Without the slightest provocation, a heavy cannonade was opened upon the fort, and borne by its helpless garrison for hours without reply; and when, in the progress of the bombardment, the fortification became wrapped in flames, the besieging batteries, in violation of the usages of civilized warfare, instead of relaxing or suspending, redoubled their fires. *A more wanton or wicked war was never commenced on any government whose history has been written.* Contemporary with and following the fall of Sumter, the siege of Fort Pickens was and still is actively pressed; the property of the United States government continued to be seized wherever found, and its troops, by fraud or force, captured in the state of Texas, in violation of a solemn compact with its authorities that they should be permitted to embark without molestation. This was the requital which the Lone Star State made to brave men, who, through long years of peril and privation, had guarded its frontiers against the incursions of the savages. In the midst of the most active and extended warlike preparations in the South, the announcement was made by the Secretary of War of the seceded states, and echoed with taunts and insolent bravadoes by the Southern press, that Washington City was to be invaded and captured, and that the flag of the Confederate States would soon float over the dome of its Capitol. Soon thereafter there followed an invitation to all the world—embracing necessarily the outcasts and desperadoes of every sea—to accept letters of marque and reprisal, to prey upon the rich and unprotected commerce of the United States.

In view of these events and threatenings, what was the duty of the chief magistrate of the republic? He might have taken counsel of the revolutionists and trembled under their menaces; he might, upon the fall of Sumter, have directed that Fort Pickens should be surrendered without firing a gun in its defence, and proceeding yet further, and meeting fully the requirements of the "let us alone" policy insisted on in the South, he might have ordered that the stars and stripes should be laid in the dust in the presence of every bit of rebel bunting that might appear. *But he did none of these things, nor could he have done them without forfeiting his oath and betraying the most sublime trust*

that has ever been confided to the hands of man. With a heroic fidelity to his constitutional obligations, feeling justly that these obligations charged him with the protection of the republic and its capital against the assaults alike of foreign and domestic enemies, he threw himself on the loyalty of the country for support in the struggle upon which he was about to enter, and nobly has that appeal been responded to. States containing an aggregate population of nineteen millions have answered to the appeal as with the voice of one man, offering soldiers without number, and treasure without limitation for the service of the government. In these states, fifteen hundred thousand freemen cast their votes in favor of candidates supporting the rights of the South, at the last presidential election, and yet everywhere, alike in popular assemblies and upon the tented field, this million and a half of voters are found yielding to none in the zeal with which they rally to their country's flag. They are not less the friends of the South than before; but they realize that the question now presented is not one of administrative policy, or of the claims of the North, the South, the East, or the West; but is, simply, whether nineteen millions of people shall tamely and ignobly permit five or six millions to overthrow and destroy institutions which are the common property, and have been the common blessings and glory of all. The great thoroughfares of the North, the East, and the West, are luminous with the banners and glistening with the bayonets of citizen soldiers marching to the capital, or to the other points of rendezvous; but they come in no hostile spirit to the South. *If called to press her soil, they will not ruffle a flower of her gardens, nor a blade of grass of her fields in unkindness. No excesses will mark the footsteps of the armies of the republic; no institution of the states will be invaded or tampered with, no rights of persons or of property will be violated. The known purposes of the administration, and the high character of the troops employed, alike guarantee the truthfulness of this statement.* When an insurrection was apprehended a few weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts regiment at once offered their services to suppress it. These volunteers have been denounced by the press of the South as "knaves and vagrants," "the dregs and offscourings of the populace," who would "rather filch a handkerchief than fight an enemy in manly combat;" yet we know here that their discipline and bearing are most admirable, and, I presume, it may be safely affirmed, that a larger amount of social position, culture, fortune, and elevation of character, has never been found in so large an army in any age or country. *If they go to the South, it will be as friends and protectors, to relieve the Union sentiment of the seceded states from the cruel domination by which it is oppressed and silenced, to unfurl the stars and stripes in the midst of those who long to look upon them, and to restore the flag that bears them to the forts and arsenals from which disloyal hands have torn it. Their mission will be one of peace, unless wicked and blood-thirsty men shall unsheath the sword across their pathway.*

It is in vain for the revolutionists to exclaim that this is "subjugation." It is

so, *precisely in the sense in which you and I and all law-abiding citizens are subjugated.* The people of the South are our brethren, and while we obey the laws enacted by our joint authority, and keep a compact to which we all are parties, we only ask that they shall be required to do the same. We believe that their safety demands this; we know that ours does. We impose no burden which we ourselves do not bear; we claim no privilege or blessing which our brethren of the South shall not equally share. Their country is our country, and ours is theirs; and that unity both of country and of government which the providence of God and the compacts of men have created, we could not ourselves, without self-immolation, destroy, nor can we permit it to be destroyed by others.

Equally vain is it for them to declare that they only wish "to be let alone," and that, in establishing the independence of the seceded states, they do those which remain in the old confederacy no harm. The free states, if allowed the opportunity of doing so, will undoubtedly concede every guarantee needed to afford complete protection to the institutions of the South, and to furnish assurances of her perfect equality in the Union; but all such guarantees and assurances are now openly spurned, and the only Southern right now insisted on is that of dismembering the republic. It is perfectly certain, that in the attempted exercise of this right, neither states nor statesmen will be "let alone." Should a ruffian meet me in the streets, and seek, with his axe, to hew an arm and a leg from my body, I would not the less resist him because, as a dishonored and helpless trunk, I might perchance survive the mutilation. It is easy to perceive what fatal results to the old confederacy would follow, should the blow now struck at its integrity ultimately triumph. We can well understand what degradation it would bring to it abroad, and what weakness at home; what exhaustion from incessant war and standing armies, and from the erection of fortifications along the thousands of miles of new frontiers; what embarrassments to commerce from having its natural channels encumbered or cut off; what elements of disintegration and revolution would be introduced from the pernicious example; and, above all, what humiliation would cover the whole American people for having failed in their great mission to demonstrate before the world the capacity of our race for self-government.

While a far more fearful responsibility has fallen upon President Lincoln than upon any of his predecessors, it must be admitted that he has met it with promptitude and fearlessness. CICERO, in one of his orations against CATILINE, speaking of the credit due himself for having suppressed the conspiracy of that arch-traitor, said, "If the glory of him who founded Rome was great, how much greater should be that of him who had saved it from overthrow, after it had grown to be mistress of the world!" So may it be said of the glory of that statesman or chieftain who shall snatch this republic from the vortex of revolution, now that it has expanded from ocean to

ocean—has become the admiration of the world, and has rendered the fountains of the lives of thirty millions of people fountains of happiness.

The vigorous measures adopted for the safety of Washington, and the government itself, may seem open to criticism, in some of their details, to those who have yet to learn that not only has war, like peace, its laws, but that it has also its privileges and its duties. Whatever of severity, or even of irregularity, may have arisen, will find its justification in the pressure of the terrible necessity under which the administration has been called to act. When a man feels the poignard of the destroyer at his bosom, he is not likely to consult the law books as to the mode or measure of his rights of self-defence. What is true of individuals is, in this respect, equally true of governments. *The man who thinks he has become disloyal because of what the administration has done, will probably discover, after a close examination, that he was disloyal before.* But for what has been done, Washington might ere this have been a smouldering heap of ruins.

They have noted the course of public affairs to little advantage who suppose that the election of LINCOLN was the real ground of the revolutionary outbreak that has occurred. The roots of the revolution may be traced back for more than a quarter of a century, and an unholy lust for power is the soil out of which it sprang. A prominent member of the band of agitators declared in one of his speeches at Charleston, last November or December, that they had been occupied for thirty years in the work of severing South Carolina from the Union. When General JACKSON crushed nullification, he said it would revive again under the form of the slavery agitation, and we have lived to see his prediction verified. Indeed, that agitation, during the last fifteen or twenty years, has been almost the entire stock-in-trade of Southern politicians. The Southern people, known to be as generous in their impulses as they are chivalric, were not wrought into a frenzy of passion by the intemperate words of a few fanatical abolitionists; for these words, if left to themselves, would have fallen to the ground as pebbles into the sea, and would have been heard of no more. But it was the echo of those words, repeated with exaggerations for the thousandth time by Southern politicians, in the halls of Congress, and in the deliberative and popular assemblies, and through the press of the South, that produced the exasperation which has proved so potent a lever in the hands of the conspirators. The cloud was fully charged, and the juggling revolutionists who held the wires, and could at will direct its lightnings, appeared at Charleston, broke up the Democratic convention assembled to nominate a candidate for the presidency, and thus secured the election of Mr. LINCOLN. Having thus rendered this certain, they at once set to work to bring the popular mind of the South to the point of determining in advance that the election of a Republican president would be, *per se*, cause for a dissolution of the Union. They were but too successful, and to this result the inaction and indecision of the bor-

der states deplorably contributed. When the election of Mr. LINCOLN was announced, there was rejoicing in the streets of Charleston, and doubtless at other points in the South; for it was believed by the conspirators that this had brought a tide in the current of their machinations which would bear them on to victory. The drama of secession was now open, and state after state rapidly rushed out of the Union, and their members withdrew from Congress. The revolution was pressed on with this hot haste in order that no time should be allowed for reaction in the Northern mind, or for any adjustment of the slavery issues by the action of Congress or of the state legislatures. Had the Southern members continued in their seats, a satisfactory compromise would, no doubt, have been arranged and passed before the adjournment of Congress. As it was, after their retirement, and after Congress had become republican, an amendment to the constitution was adopted by a two-thirds vote, declaring that Congress should never interfere with slavery in the states, and declaring, further, that this amendment should be irrevocable. Thus we falsified the clamor so long and so insidiously rung in the ears of the Southern people, that the abolition of slavery in the states was the ultimate aim of the Republican party. But even this amendment, and all others which may be needed to furnish the guarantees demanded, are now defeated by the secession of eleven states, which, claiming to be out of the Union, will refuse to vote upon, and, in effect, will vote against, any proposals to modify the federal constitution. There are now thirty-four states in the confederacy, three-fourths of which, being twenty-six, must concur in the adoption of any amendment before it can become a part of the constitution; but the secession of eleven states leaves but twenty-three whose vote can possibly be secured, which is less than the constitutional number.

Thus we have the extraordinary and discreditable spectacle of a revolution made by certain states, professedly on the ground that guarantees for the safety of their institutions are denied them, and, at the same time, instead of co-operating with their sister states in obtaining these guarantees, they designedly assume a hostile attitude, and thereby render it constitutionally impossible to secure them. This profound dissimulation shows that it was not the safety of the South, but its severance from the confederacy, which was sought from the beginning. Cotemporary with, and in some cases preceding, these acts of secession, the greatest outrages were committed upon the government of the United States by the states engaged in them. Its forts, arsenals, arms, barracks, custom-houses, post-offices, moneys, and, indeed, every species of its property within the limits of these states, were seized and appropriated, down to the very hospital stores for the sick soldiers. More than half a million of dollars was plundered from the mint at New Orleans. United States vessels were received from the defiled hands of their officers in command, and, as if in the hope of consecrating official

treachery as one of the public virtues of the age, the surrender of an entire military department by a general, to the keeping of whose honor it had been confided, was deemed worthy of the commendation and thanks of the conventions of several states. All these lawless proceedings were well understood to have been prompted and directed by men occupying seats in the capitol, some of whom were frank enough to declare that they could not and would not, though in a minority, live under a government which they could not control. In this declaration is found the key which unlocks the whole of the complicated machinery of this revolution. The profligate ambition of public men in all ages and lands has been the rock on which republics have been split. Such men have arisen in our midst—men who, because unable permanently to grasp the helm of the ship, are willing to destroy it in the hope to command some one of the rafts that may float away from the wreck. The effect is to degrade us to a level with the military bandits of Mexico and South America, who, when beaten at an election, fly to arms, and seek to master by the sword what they have been unable to control by the ballot-box.

The atrocious acts enumerated were acts of war, and might all have been treated as such by the late administration; but the President patriotically cultivated peace—how anxiously and how patiently the country well knows. *While, however, the revolutionary leaders greeted him with all hails to his face, they did not the less diligently continue to whet their swords behind his back. Immense military preparations were made, so that when the moment for striking at the government of the United States arrived, the revolutionary states leaped into the contest clad in full armor.*

As if nothing should be wanting to darken this page of history, the seceded States have already entered upon the work of confiscating the debts due from their citizens to the North and North-west. The millions thus gained will doubtless prove a pleasant substitute for those guarantees now so scornfully rejected. To these confiscations will probably succeed soon those of lands and negroes owned by citizens of loyal states; and, indeed, the apprehension of this step is already sadly disturbing the fidelity of non-resident proprietors. Fortunately, however, infirmity of faith, springing from such a cause, is not likely to be contagious. *The war begun is being prosecuted by the Confederate States in a temper as fierce and unsparing as that which characterizes conflicts between the most hostile nations. Letters of marque and reprisals are being granted to all who seek them, so that our coasts will soon swarm with these piratical cruisers, as the President has properly denounced them. Every buccaneer who desires to rob American commerce upon the ocean, can, for the asking, obtain a warrant to do so, in the name of the new republic. To crown all, large bodies of Indians have been mustered into the service of the revolutionary states, and are now conspicuous in the ranks of the Southern army. A leading North Carolina journal, noting their stalwart*

frames and unerring markmanship, observes, with an exultation positively fiendish, that they are armed, not only with the rifle, but also with *the scalping-knife and tomahawk*.

Is Kentucky willing to link her name in history with the excesses and crimes which have sullied this revolution at every step of its progress? Can she soil her pure hands with its booty? She possesses the noblest heritage that God has granted to his children; is she prepared to barter it away for that miserable mess of pottage which the gratification of the unholy ambition of her public men would bring to her lips? Can she, without laying her face in the very dust for shame, become a participant in the spoliation of the commerce of her neighbors and friends, by contributing her star, hitherto so stainless in its glory, to light the corsair on his way? Has the warwhoop which used to startle the sleep of our frontiers, so died away in her ears that she is willing to take the red-handed savage to her bosom as the champion of her rights and the representative of her spirit? Must she not first forget her own heroic sons, who perished, butchered and scalped, upon the disastrous field of Raisin?

The object of the revolution, as avowed by all who are pressing it forward is the permanent dismemberment of the Confederacy. The dream of reconstruction—used during the last winter as a lure to draw the hesitating or the hopeful into the movement—has been formally abandoned. If Kentucky separates herself from the Union, it must be upon the basis that the separation is to be final and eternal. Is there aught in the organization or administration of the government of the United States to justify, on her part, an act so solemn and so perilous? Could the wisest of her lawyers, if called upon, find material for an indictment in any or in all the pages of the history of the republic? Could the most leprous-lipped of its calumniators point to a single state or territory, or community or citizen, that it has wronged or oppressed? It would be impossible. *So far as the slave states are concerned, their protection has been complete, and if it has not been, it has been the fault of their statesmen, who have had the control of the government since its foundation.*

The census returns show that during the year 1860, the fugitive slave law was executed more faithfully and successfully than it had been during the preceding ten years. Since the installation of President Lincoln, not a case has arisen in which the fugitive has not been returned, and that, too, without any opposition from the people. Indeed, the fidelity with which it was understood to be the policy of the administration to enforce the provisions of this law, has caused a perfect panic among the runaway slaves in the free states, and they have been escaping in multitudes to Canada, unpursued and unreclaimed by their masters. Is there found in this, reason for a dissolution of the Union?

That the slave states are not recognized as equals in the Confederacy, has

for several years been the cry of demagogues and conspirators. But what is the truth? Not only according to the theory, but the actual practice of the government, the slave states have ever been, and still are, in all respects, the peers of the free. Of the fourteen presidents who have been elected, seven were citizens of slave states, and of the seven remaining, three represented Southern principles, and received the votes of the Southern people; so that, in our whole history, but four presidents have been chosen who can be claimed as the special champions of the policy and principles of the free states, and even these so only in a modified sense. Does this look as if the South had ever been deprived of her equal share of the honors and powers of the government? The Supreme Court has decided that the citizens of the slave states can, at will, take their slaves into all the territories of the United States; and this decision, which has never been resisted or interfered with in a single case, is the law of the land, and the whole power of the government is pledged to enforce it. That it will be loyally enforced by the present administration, I entertain no doubt. A Republican Congress, at the late session, organized three new territories, and in the organic law of neither was there introduced or attempted to be introduced, the slightest restriction upon the rights of the Southern emigrant to bring his slaves with him. At this moment, therefore, and I state it without qualification, there is not a territory belonging to the United States into which the Southern people may not introduce their slaves at pleasure, and enjoy their complete protection. Kentucky should consider this great and undeniable fact, before which all the frothy rant of demagogues and disunionists must disappear as a bank of fog before the wind. But were it otherwise, and did a defect exist in our organic law, or in the practical administration of the government, in reference to the rights of Southern slaveholders in the territories, still the question would be a mere abstraction, since the laws of climate forbid the establishment of slavery in such a latitude; and to destroy such institutions as ours for such a cause, instead of patiently trying to remove it, would be little short of national insanity. It would be to burn the house down over our heads merely because there is a leak in the roof; to scuttle the ship in mid-ocean merely because there is a difference of opinion among the crew as to the point of the compass to which the vessel should be steered; it would be, in fact, to apply the knife to the throat instead of to the cancer of the patient.

But what remains? Though, say the disunionists, the Fugitive Slave law is honestly enforced, and though, under the shelter of the Supreme Court, we can take our slaves into the territories, the Northern people will persist in discussing the institution of slavery, and therefore we will break up the government. It is true that slavery has been very intemperately discussed in the North, and it is equally true that until we have an Asiatic despotism, crushing out all freedom of speech and of the press, this discussion will probably continue. In this age and country all institutions, human and divine,

are discussed, and so they ought to be; and all that cannot bear discussion must go to the wall, where they ought to go. It is not pretended, however, that the discussion of slavery, which has been continued in our country for more than forty years, has in any manner disturbed or weakened the foundation of the institution. On the contrary, we learn from the press of the seceded states that their slaves were never more tranquil or obedient. There are zealots—happily few in number—both North and South, whose language upon this question is alike extravagant and alike deserving our condemnation. Those who assert that slavery should be extirpated by the sword, and those who maintain that the great mission of the white man upon earth is to enslave the black, are not far apart in the folly and atrocity of their sentiments.

Before proceeding further, Kentucky should measure well the depth of the gulf she is approaching, and look well to the feet of her guides. Before forsaking a Union in which her people have enjoyed such uninterrupted and such boundless prosperity, she should ask herself, not once, but many times, why do I go, and where am I going? In view of what has been said, it would be difficult to answer the first branch of the inquiry, but to answer the second part is patent to all, as are the consequences which would follow the movement. In giving her great material and moral resources to the support of the Southern Confederacy, Kentucky might prolong the desolating struggle that rebellious states are making to overthrow a government which they have only known in its blessings; but the triumph of the government would nevertheless be certain in the end. *She would abandon a government strong and able to protect her, for one that is weak, and that contains, in the very elements of its life, the seeds of distraction and early dissolution. She would adopt, as the law of her existence, the right of secession—a right which has no foundation in jurisprudence, or logic, or in our political history; which Madison, the father of the federal constitution, denounced; which has been denounced by most of the states and prominent statesmen now insisting upon its exercise; which, in introducing a principle of indefinite disintegration, cuts up all confederate governments by the roots, and gives them over a prey to the caprices, and passions, and transient interests of their members, as autumnal leaves are given to the winds which blow upon them.* In 1814, the *Richmond Enquirer*, then, as now, the organ of public opinion in the South, pronounced secession to be treason, and nothing else, and such was then the doctrine of Southern statesmen. What was true then is equally true now. The prevalence of this pernicious heresy is mainly the fruit of that farce called "state rights," which demagogues have been so long playing under tragic mask, and which has done more than all things else to unsettle the foundations of the republic, by estranging the people from the federal government, as one to be distrusted and resisted, instead of being, what it is, emphatically their own creation, at all times obedient to their will, and in its ministrations the

grandest reflex of the greatness and beneficence of popular power that has ever ennobled the history of our race. Said Mr. Clay: "I owe a supreme allegiance to the general government, and to my state a subordinate one." And this terse language disposes of the whole controversy which has arisen out of the secession movement in regard to the allegiance of the citizen. As the power of the states and federal government are in perfect harmony with each other, so there can be no conflict between the allegiance due to them; each, while acting within the sphere of its constitutional authority, is entitled to be obeyed; but when a state, throwing off all constitutional restraints, seeks to destroy the general government, to say that its citizens are bound to follow in its career of crime, and discard the supreme allegiance they owe to the government assailed, is one of the shallowest and most dangerous fallacies that has ever gained credence among men.

Kentucky, occupying a central position in the Union, is now protected from the scourge of a foreign war, however much its ravages may waste the towns and cities upon our coasts, or the commerce upon our seas; but as a member of the Southern Confederacy, she would be a frontier state, and necessarily the victim of those border feuds and conflicts which have become proverbial in history alike for their fierceness and frequency. The people of the South now sleep quietly in their beds, while there is not a home in infatuated and misguided Virginia that is not filled with the alarms and oppressed by the terrors of war. In the fate of the ancient commonwealth, dragged to the altar of sacrifice by those who should have stood between her bosom and every foe, Kentucky may read her own. *No wonder, therefore, that she has been so coaxingly besought to unite her fortunes with those of the South, and to lay down the bodies of her chivalric sons as a breastwork, behind which the Southern people may be sheltered.* Even as attached to the Southern Confederacy, she would be weak for all the purposes of self-protection, as compared with her present position. But amid the mutations incident to such a helpless and disintegrating league, Kentucky would probably soon find herself adhering to a mere fragment of the Confederacy, or it may be standing entirely alone, in the presence of tiers of free states, with populations exceeding, by many millions, her own. Feeble states, thus separated from powerful and warlike neighbors by ideal boundaries, or by fears as easily traversed as rivulets, are as insects that feed upon the lion's lip—liable at every moment to be crushed. The recorded doom of multitudes of such, has left us a warning too solemn and impressive to be disregarded.

Kentucky now scarcely feels the contribution she makes to support the government of the United States, but as a member of the Southern Confederacy, of whose policy free trade will be a cardinal principle, she will be burdened with direct taxation to the amount of double, or, it may be, triple or quadruple that which she now pays into her own treasury. Superadded to this will be required from her her share of those vast outlays necessary for

the creation of a navy, the erection of forts and custom-houses along a frontier of several thousand miles; and for the maintenance of that large standing army which will be indispensable at once for her safety, and for imparting to the new government that strong military character which, it has been openly avowed, the peculiar institutions of the South will inexorably demand.

Kentucky now enjoys for her peculiar institution the protection of the Fugitive Slave law, loyally enforced by the government, and it is this law, effective in its power of recapture, but infinitely more potent in its moral agency in preventing the escape of slaves, that alone saves that institution in the border states from utter extinction. She cannot carry this law with her into the new Confederacy. She will, virtually, have Canada brought to her doors in the form of free states, whose population, relieved of all moral and constitutional obligations to deliver up fugitive slaves, will stand with open arms, inviting and welcoming them, and defending them, if need be, at the point of the bayonet. Under such influences, slavery will perish rapidly pass away in Kentucky, as a ball of snow would melt in a summer's sun.

Kentucky, in her soul, abhors the African slave-trade, and turns away with unspeakable horror and loathing from the red altars of King Dahomey. *But although this traffic has been temporarily interdicted by the seceded states, it is well understood that this step has been taken as a mere measure of policy for the purpose of impressing the border states, and of conciliating the European powers. The ultimate legalization of this trade, by a republic professing to be based upon African servitude, must follow as certainly as does the conclusion from the premises of a mathematical proposition.* Is Kentucky prepared to see the hand upon the dial-plate of her civilization rudely thrust back a century, and to stand before the world the confessed champion of the African slave-hunter? Is she, with her unsullied fame, ready to become a pander to the rapacity of the African slave-trader, who burdens the very winds of the sea with the moans of the wretched captives whose limbs he has loaded with chains, and whose hearts he has broken? I do not, I cannot, believe it.

For this catalogue of what Kentucky must suffer in abandoning her present honored and secure position, and becoming a member of the Southern Confederacy, what will be her indemnity? Nothing, absolutely nothing. The ill-woven ambition of some of her sons may possibly reach the Presidency of the new republic; that is all. Alas! alas! for that dream of the Presidency of a Southern republic, which has disturbed so many pillows in the South, and perhaps some in the West, also, and whose lurid light, like a demon's torch, is leading a nation to perdition!

The clamor that in insisting upon the South obeying the laws, the great principle that all popular governments rest upon the consent of the governed is violated, should not receive a moment's consideration. Popular government does, indeed, rest upon the consent of the governed, but it is upon the consent, *not of all, but of a majority of the governed.* Criminals are every day

punished, and made to obey the laws, certainly against their will, and no man supposes that the principle referred to is thereby invaded. A bill passed by the legislature, by the majority of a single vote only, though the constituents of all who voted against it should be, in fact as they are held to be in theory, opposed to its provisions, still is not the less operative as a law, and no right of self-government is thereby trampled upon. The clamor alluded to assumes that the states are separate and independent governments, and that laws enacted under the authority of all may be resisted and repealed at the pleasure of each. The people of the United States, so far as the powers of the general government are concerned, are a unit, and laws passed by a majority of all are binding upon all. The laws and constitution, however, which the South now resists, have been adopted by her sanction, and the right she now claims is that of a feeble minority to repeal what a majority has adopted. Nothing could be more fallacious.

Civil war, under all circumstances, is a terrible calamity, and yet, from the selfish ambition and wickedness of men, the best governments have not been able to escape it. In regarding that which has been forced upon the government of the United States, Kentucky should not look so much at the means which may be necessarily employed in its prosecution, as at the machinations by which this national tragedy has been brought upon us. When I look upon this bright land, a few months since so prosperous, so tranquil, and so free, and now behold it desolated by war, and the firesides of its thirty millions of people darkened, and their bosoms wrung with anguish, and know, as I do, that all this is the work of a score or two of men, who, over all this national ruin and despair, are preparing to carve with the sword their way to seats of permanent power, I cannot but feel that they are accumulating upon their soil an amount of guilt hardly equalled in all the atrocities of treason and homicide that have degraded the annals of our race from the foundations of the world. *Kentucky may rest well assured that this conflict, which is one of self-defence, will be pursued on the part of the Government in the paternal spirit in which a father seeks to reclaim his erring offspring. No conquest, no effusion of blood is sought. In sorrow, not in anger, the prayer of all is, that the end may be reached without loss of life or waste of property.* Among the most powerful instrumentalities relied on for re-establishing the authority of the government, is that of the Union sentiment of the South, sustained by a liberated press. It is now trodden to the earth under a reign of terrorism which has no parallel but in the worst days of the French revolution. The presence of the government will enable it to rebound and look its oppressors in the face. At present we are assured that in the seceded states no man expresses an opinion opposed to the revolution but at the hazard of his life and property. The only light which is admitted into political discussion is that which flashes from the sword or gleams from glistening bayonets. A few days since, one of the United State Sena-

tors from Virginia published a manifesto, in which he announces, with oracular solemnity and severity, that all citizens who would not vote for secession, but were in favor of the Union—not should or ought to—but “MUST leave the state.” These words have in them decidedly the crack of the overseer’s whip. The Senator evidently treats Virginia as a great negro quarter, in which the lash is the appropriate emblem of authority, and the only argument he will condescend to use. However the freemen of other parts of the state may abase themselves under the exercise of this insolent and proscriptive tyranny, should the Senator, with his scourge of slaves, endeavor to drive the people of Western Virginia from their homes, I will only say, in the language of the narrative of Gilpin’s ride,

“May I be there to see!”

It would certainly prove a deeply interesting spectacle.

It is true that before this deliverance of the popular mind of the South from the threatenings and alarm which have subdued it can be accomplished, the remorseless agitators who have made this revolution, and now hold its reins, must be discarded alike from the public confidence and the public service. The country in its agony is feeling their power, and we well understand how difficult will be the task of overthrowing the ascendancy they have secured. But the Union men of the South—believed to be in the majority in every seceded state, except, perhaps, South Carolina—aided by the presence of the government, will be fully equal to the emergency. Let these agitators perish, politically, if need be, by scores,

“A breath can unmake them as a breath has made;”

but destroy this republic, and

“Where is that Promethean heat
That can its light relume?”

Once entombed, when will the angel of the resurrection descend to the portals of its sepulchre? There is not a voice which comes to us from the cemetery of nations that does not answer: “Never, never!” Amid the torments of perturbed existence, we may have glimpses of rest and of freedom, as the maniac has glimpses of reason between the paroxysms of his madness, but we shall attain to neither national dignity nor national repose. We shall be a mass of jarring, warring, fragmentary states, enfeebled and demoralized, without power at home, or respectability abroad, and, like the republics of Mexico and South America, we will drift away on a shoreless and ensanguined sea of civil commotion, from which, if the teachings of history are to be trusted, we shall finally be rescued by the iron hand of some military wrecker, who will coin the shattered elements of our greatness and of our strength in a diadem and a throne. Said M. FOULD, the great French statesman, to an American citizen, a few weeks since: “Your republic is dead,

and it is probably the last the world will ever see. You will have a reign of terrorism, and after that two or three monarchies." All this may be verified should this revolution succeed.

Let us, then, twine each thread of the glorious tissue of our country's flag about our heart-strings, and looking upon our homes and catching the spirit that breathes upon us from the battle-fields of our fathers, let us resolve, that, come weal or woe, we will, in life and in death, now and forever, stand by the stars and the stripes. They have floated over our cradles, let it be our prayer and our struggle that they shall float over our graves. They have been unfurled from the snows of Canada to the plains of New Orleans, to the halls of the Montezumas, and amid the solitudes of every sea; and everywhere, as the luminous symbol of resistless and beneficent power, they have led the brave and the free to victory and to glory. It has been my fortune to look upon this flag in foreign lands, and amid the gloom of an oriental despotism, and right well do I know, by contrast, how bright are its stars, and how sublime are its inspirations! If this banner, the emblem for us of all that is grand in human history, and of all that is transporting in human hope, is to be sacrificed on the altars of a Satanic ambition, and thus disappear forever amid the night and tempest of revolution, then will I feel—and who shall estimate the desolation of that feeling?—that the sun has indeed been stricken from the sky of our lives, and that henceforth we shall be but wanderers and outcasts, with naught but the bread of sorrow and penury for our lips, and with hands ever outstretched in feebleness and supplication, on which, in any hour, a military tyrant may rivet the fetters of a despairing bondage. May God in his infinite mercy save you and me, and the land we so much love, from the doom of such a degradation.

No contest so momentous as this has arisen in human history, for, amid all the conflicts of men and of nations, the life of no such government as ours has ever been at stake. Our fathers won our independence by the blood and the sacrifices of a seven years' war, and we have maintained it against the assaults of the greatest power upon the earth; and the question now is, whether we are to perish by our own hands, and have the epitaph of suicide written upon our tomb? The ordeal through which we are passing must involve immense suffering and losses for us all, but the expenditure of not merely hundreds of millions, but of billions of treasure, will be well made, if the result will be the preservation of our institutions.

Could my voice reach every dwelling in Kentucky, I would implore its inmates—if they would not have the rivers of their prosperity shrink away, as do unfed streams beneath the summer heats—to rouse themselves from their lethargy, and fly to the rescue of their country, before it is everlastingly too late. Man should appeal to man, and neighborhood to neighborhood, until the electric fires of patriotism shall flash from heart to heart in one unbroken current throughout the land. It is a time in which the workshop,

the office, the counting-house, and the field, may well be abandoned for the solemn duty that is upon us, for all these toils will but bring treasure, not for ourselves, but for the spoiler, if this revolution is not arrested.

We are all, with our every earthly interest, embarked in mid-ocean on the same common deck. The howl of the storm is in our ears, and "the lightning's red glare is painting hell on the sky;" while the noble ship pitches and rolls under the lashings of the waves, the cry is heard that she has sprung a leak at many points, and that the rushing waters are mounting rapidly in the hold. The man who, in such an hour, will not work at the pumps, is either a maniac or a monster.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH HOLT.

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LETTERS

OF THE

HON. JOSEPH HOLT,

THE

HON. EDWARD EVERETT,

AND

COMMODORE CHARLES STEWART,

ON THE

PRESENT CRISIS.

PHILADELPHIA:
WILLIAM S. & ALFRED MARTIEN, C
No. 606 CHESTNUT STREET.
1861.

PREFATORY NOTE.

MR. HOLT is already well known to the country as the Post-Master General, and subsequently, for a few weeks, the Secretary of War under President Buchanan. The ability and efficiency with which he administered these trusts, commanded the general approval of the country; while the personal and official corruption by which he was surrounded, brought into bolder relief his own spotless integrity. It was quite in keeping with the antecedents of such a man, that he should write the Letter here reprinted. He saw his native State dallying with the demon of secession—as Satan beguiled our first mother.

“Oft he bowed

His turret-crest, and sleek enamelled neck,

Fawning; and licked the ground whereon she trod.”

This was not a sight for a true patriot to see unmoved; and he addressed the following Letter to the “People of Kentucky.” The special design of the appeal, is to keep that State from sliding into the abyss before her. But in aiming at this object, he has discussed the whole subject of the pending contest with masterly ability. He traces the secession movement to its true sources; lays bare the sordid motives of the Confederate leaders; and

shows that the treason which is now making war against our just and beneficent Government, has been covertly plotting the overthrow of the Union for many years.

His views on these points are confirmed by the other Letters herewith published. MR. EVERETT states it, as of his personal knowledge, that "leading Southern politicians had for thirty years been resolved to break up the Union," whenever the sceptre departed from their hands. And the venerable COMMODORE STEWART traces the roots of this foul scheme back as far as 1812. These testimonies, in connection with the recent letter of Mr. Russell to the *London Times*, seem to justify the presumption, that the State of South Carolina was *never* loyal to the Union; that, however it may have been with the mass of her people, she had nursed *ab initio* a nest of traitors, who have persistently cherished the purpose to destroy the Government whenever they could no longer control it.

These developments are of great moment in their bearing upon the present conflict; and they will not be lost sight of in the future adjustment of this quarrel.

The three Letters contained in this pamphlet are of too much value to be consigned merely to the fugitive columns of a newspaper. The Publisher feels that he is doing the country a good service, by presenting them in a form suitable for preservation and reference. Without specifying other topics which are worthy of notice, he may be allowed to direct particular attention to the paragraph of Mr. EVERETT's admirable Letter (pp. 38, 39) on the plausible claim of the South, "simply to be let alone."

LETTER OF THE HON. J. HOLT.

WASHINGTON, Friday, *May* 31, 1861.

J. F. SPEED, Esq.

My Dear Sir—The recent overwhelming vote in favour of the Union in Kentucky has afforded unspeakable gratification to all true men throughout the country. That vote indicates that the people of that gallant State have been neither seduced by the arts nor terrified by the menaces of the revolutionists in their midst, and that it is their fixed purpose to remain faithful to a Government which, for nearly seventy years, has remained faithful to them. Still it cannot be denied that there is in the bosom of that State a band of agitators who, though few in number, are yet powerful from the public confidence they have enjoyed, and who have been, and doubtless will continue to be, unceasing in their endeavour to force Kentucky to unite her fortunes with those of the rebel Confederacy of the South. In view of this and of the well-known fact that several of the seceded States have by fraud and violence been driven to occupy their present false and fatal position, I cannot, even with the encouragement of her late vote before me, look upon the

political future of our native State without a painful solicitude. Never have the safety and honour of her people required the exercise of so much vigilance and of so much courage on their part. If true to themselves, the Stars and Stripes, which, like angels' wings, have so long guarded their homes from every oppression, will still be theirs; but if, chasing the dreams of men's ambition, they shall prove false, the blackness of darkness can but faintly predict the gloom that awaits them. The Legislature, it seems, has determined by resolution that the State, pending the present unhappy war, shall occupy neutral ground. *I must say, in all frankness, and without desiring to reflect upon the course or sentiments of any, that, in this struggle for the existence of our Government, I can neither practise nor profess nor feel neutrality. I would as soon think of being neutral in a contest between an officer of justice and an incendiary arrested in an attempt to fire the dwelling over my head; for the Government whose overthrow is sought, is for me the shelter not only of home, kindred and friends, but of every earthly blessing which I can hope to enjoy on this side of the grave.* If, however, from a natural horror of fratricidal strife, or from her intimate social and business relations with the South, Kentucky shall determine to maintain the neutral attitude assumed for her by her Legislature, her position will still be an honourable one, though falling far short of that full measure of loyalty which her history has so constantly illustrated. Her Executive, ignoring, as I am happy to believe, alike the popular and legislative sentiment of the State, has, by proclamation, forbidden the Government of the United States from marching troops across her territory. This is in no sense a neutral step,

but one of aggressive hostility. The troops of the Federal Government have as clear a constitutional right to pass over the soil of Kentucky as they have to march along the streets of Washington; and could this prohibition be effective, it would not only be a violation of the fundamental law, but would, in all its tendencies, be directly in advancement of the revolution, and might, in an emergency easily imagined, compromise the highest national interests. I was rejoiced that the Legislature so promptly refused to endorse this proclamation as expressive of the true policy of the State. But I turn away from even this to the ballot-box, and find an abounding consolation in the conviction it inspires, that the popular heart of Kentucky, in its devotion to the Union, is far in advance alike of legislative resolve and of Executive proclamation.

But as it is well understood that the late popular demonstration has rather scotched than killed rebellion in Kentucky, I propose inquiring, as briefly as practicable, whether, in the recent action or present declared policy of the Administration, or in the history of the pending revolution, or in the objects it seeks to accomplish, or in the results which must follow from it if successful, there can be discovered any reasons why that State should sever the ties that unite her with a Confederacy in whose councils and upon whose battle-fields she has won so much fame, and under whose protection she has enjoyed so much prosperity.

For more than a month after the inauguration of President LINCOLN, the manifestations seemed unequivocal that his Administration would seek a peaceful solution of our unhappy political troubles, and would look to time and amendments to the Federal Constitution, adopted in

accordance with its provisions, to bring back the revolted States to their allegiance. So marked was the effect of these manifestations in tranquilizing the Border States and in reassuring their loyalty, that the conspirators who had set this revolution on foot took the alarm. *While affecting to despise these States as not sufficiently intensified in their devotion to African servitude, they knew they could never succeed in their treasonable enterprise without their support. Hence it was resolved to precipitate a collision of arms with the Federal authorities, in the hope that under the panic and exasperation incident to the commencement of a civil war, the Border States, following the natural bent of their sympathies, would array themselves against the Government.* Fort Sumter, occupied by a feeble garrison, and girdled by powerful if not impregnable batteries, afforded convenient means for accomplishing their purpose, and for testing also their favorite theory, that blood was needed to cement the new Confederacy. Its provisions were exhausted, and the request made by the President, in the interests of peace and humanity, for the privilege of replenishing its stores, had been refused. The Confederate authorities were aware—for so the gallant commander of the fort had declared to them—that in two days a capitulation from starvation must take place. A peaceful surrender, however, would not have subserved their aims. They sought the clash of arms and the effusion of blood as an instrumentality for impressing the Border States, and they sought the humiliation of the Government and the dishonour of its flag as a means of giving prestige to their own cause. The result is known. Without the slightest provocation, a heavy cannonade was opened upon the

fort, and borne by its helpless garrison for hours without reply; and when, in the progress of the bombardment, the fortification became wrapped in flames, the besieging batteries, in violation of the usages of civilized warfare, instead of relaxing or suspending, redoubled their fires. *A more wanton or wicked war was never commenced on any Government whose history has been written.* Cotemporary with and following the fall of Sumter, the siege of Fort Pickens was and still is actively pressed; the property of the United States Government continued to be seized wherever found, and its troops, by fraud or force, captured in the State of Texas, in violation of a solemn compact with its authorities that they should be permitted to embark without molestation. This was the requital which the Lone Star State made to brave men, who, through long years of peril and privation, had guarded its frontiers against the incursions of the savages. In the midst of the most active and extended warlike preparations in the South, the announcement was made by the Secretary of War of the seceded States, and echoed with taunts and insolent bravadoes by the Southern press, that Washington City was to be invaded and captured, and that the flag of the Confederate States would soon float over the dome of its capitol. Soon thereafter there followed an invitation to all the world—embracing necessarily the outcasts and desperadoes of every sea—to accept letters of marque and reprisal, to prey upon the rich and unprotected commerce of the United States.

In view of these events and threatenings, what was the duty of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic? He might have taken counsel of the revolutionists and trembled

under their menaces; he might, upon the fall of Sumter, have directed that Fort Pickens should be surrendered without firing a gun in its defence, and proceeding yet further, and meeting fully the requirements of the "let us alone" policy insisted on in the South, he might have ordered that the Stars and Stripes should be laid in the dust in the presence of every bit of rebel bunting that might appear. *But he did none of these things, nor could he have done them without forfeiting his oath and betraying the most sublime trust that has ever been confided to the hands of man.* With a heroic fidelity to his constitutional obligations, feeling justly that these obligations charged him with the protection of the Republic and its Capital against the assaults alike of foreign and domestic enemies, he threw himself on the loyalty of the country for support in the struggle upon which he was about to enter, and nobly has that appeal been responded to. States containing an aggregate population of nineteen millions have answered to the appeal as with the voice of one man, offering soldiers without number and treasure without limitation for the service of the Government. In these States, fifteen hundred thousand freemen cast their votes in favour of candidates supporting the rights of the South at the last Presidential election, and yet everywhere, alike in popular assemblies and upon the tented field, this million and a half of voters are found yielding to none in the zeal with which they rally to their country's flag. They are not less the friends of the South than before; but they realize that the question now presented is not one of administrative policy, or of the claims of the North, the South, the East, or the West; but is, simply, whether nineteen millions of people shall tamely and ignobly per-

mit five or six millions to overthrow and destroy institutions which are the common property, and have been the common blessings and glory, of all. The great thoroughfares of the North, the East, and the West, are luminous with the banners and glistening with the bayonets of citizen soldiers marching to the Capital, or to the other points of rendezvous; but they come in no hostile spirit to the South. *If called to press her soil, they will not ruffle a flower of her gardens, nor a blade of grass of her fields in unkindness. No excesses will mark the footsteps of the armies of the Republic; no institution of the States will be invaded or tampered with, no rights of persons or of property will be violated. The known purposes of the Administration, and the high character of the troops employed, alike guarantee the truthfulness of this statement.* When an insurrection was apprehended a few weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts' Regiment at once offered their services to suppress it. These volunteers have been denounced by the Press of the South as "knaves and vagrants," "the dregs and offscourings of the populace," who would "rather filch a handkerchief than fight an enemy in manly combat;" yet we know here that their discipline and bearing are most admirable, and, I presume it may be safely affirmed that a larger amount of social position, culture, fortune, and elevation of character has never been found in so large an army in any age or country. *If they go to the South, it will be as friends and protectors, to relieve the Union sentiment of the seceded States from the cruel domination by which it is oppressed and silenced, to unfurl the Stars and Stripes in the midst of those who long to look upon them, and to restore the flag that bears them to the forts and*

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arsenals from which disloyal hands have torn it. Their mission will be one of peace, unless wicked and blood-thirsty men shall unsheath the sword across their pathway.

It is in vain for the revolutionists to exclaim that this is "subjugation." It is so, precisely in the sense in which you and I and all law-abiding citizens are subjugated. The people of the South are our brethren, and while we obey the laws enacted by our joint authority, and keep a compact to which we all are parties, we only ask that they shall be required to do the same. We believe that their safety demands this; we know that ours does. We impose no burden which we ourselves do not bear; we claim no privilege or blessing which our brethren of the South shall not equally share. Their country is our country, and ours is theirs; and that unity both of country and of government which the providence of God and the compacts of men have created we could not ourselves, without self-immolation, destroy, nor can we permit it to be destroyed by others.

Equally vain is it for them to declare that they only wish "to be let alone," and that, in establishing the independence of the seceded States, they do those which remain in the old Confederacy no harm. The Free States, if allowed the opportunity of doing so, will undoubtedly concede every guarantee needed to afford complete protection to the institutions of the South, and to furnish assurances of her perfect equality in the Union; but all such guarantees and assurances are now openly spurned, and the only Southern right now insisted on is that of dismembering the Republic. It is perfectly certain, that in the attempted exercise of this right, neither States nor statesmen will be "let alone." Should a ruffian meet me

in the streets, and seek, with his axe, to hew an arm and a leg from my body, I would not the less resist him because, as a dishonoured and helpless trunk, I might perchance survive the mutilation. It is easy to perceive what fatal results to the old Confederacy would follow, should the blow now struck at its integrity ultimately triumph. We can well understand what degradation it would bring to it abroad, and what weakness at home; what exhaustion from incessant war and standing armies, and from the erection of fortifications along the thousands of miles of new frontiers; what embarrassments to commerce from having its natural channels encumbered or cut off; what elements of disintegration and revolution would be introduced from the pernicious example; and, above all, what humiliation would cover the whole American people for having failed in their great mission to demonstrate before the world the capacity of our race for self-government.

While a far more fearful responsibility has fallen upon President Lincoln than upon any of his predecessors, it must be admitted that he has met it with promptitude and fearlessness. CICERO, in one of his orations against CATALINE, speaking of the credit due himself for having suppressed the conspiracy of that arch-traitor, said, "If the glory of him who founded Rome was great, how much greater should be that of him who had saved it from overthrow, after it had grown to be mistress of the world?" So may it be said of the glory of that statesman or chieftain who shall snatch this Republic from the vortex of revolution, now that it has expanded from ocean to ocean,—has become the admiration of the world, and has rendered the fountains of the lives of thirty millions of people fountains of happiness.

The vigorous measures adopted for the safety of Washington, and the Government itself, may seem open to criticism, in some of their details, to those who have yet to learn that not only has war, like peace, its laws, but that it has also its privileges and its duties. Whatever of severity, or even of irregularity, may have arisen, will find its justification in the pressure of the terrible necessity under which the Administration has been called to act. When a man feels the poignard of the destroyer at his bosom, he is not likely to consult the law-books as to the mode or measure of his rights of self-defence. What is true of individuals is in this respect equally true of governments. *The man who thinks he has become disloyal because of what the Administration has done, will probably discover, after a close examination, that he was disloyal before.* But for what has been done, Washington might ere this have been a smouldering heap of ruins.

They have noted the course of public affairs to little advantage who suppose that the election of LINCOLN was the real ground of the revolutionary outbreak that has occurred. The roots of the revolution may be traced back for more than a quarter of a century, and an unholy lust for power is the soil out of which it sprang. A prominent member of the band of agitators declared in one of his speeches at Charleston, last November or December, that they had been occupied for thirty years in the work of severing South Carolina from the Union. When General JACKSON crushed nullification, he said it would revive again under the form of the slavery agitation, and we have lived to see his prediction verified. Indeed, that agitation, during the last fifteen or twenty years, has been almost the entire stock in trade of Southern politicians.

The Southern people, known to be as generous in their impulses as they are chivalric, were not wrought into a frenzy of passion by the intemperate words of a few fanatical abolitionists; for these words, if left to themselves, would have fallen to the ground as pebbles into the sea, and would have been heard of no more. But it was the echo of those words, repeated with exaggerations for the thousandth time by Southern politicians, in the halls of Congress, and in the deliberative and popular assemblies, and through the Press of the South, that produced the exasperation which has proved so potent a lever in the hands of the conspirators. The cloud was fully charged, and the juggling revolutionists who held the wires, and could at will direct its lightnings, appeared at Charleston, broke up the Democratic Convention assembled to nominate a candidate for the Presidency, and thus secured the election of Mr. LINCOLN. Having thus rendered this certain, they at once set to work to bring the popular mind of the South to the point of determining in advance that the election of a Republican President would be *per se* cause for a dissolution of the Union. They were but too successful, and to this result the inaction and indecision of the Border States deplorably contributed. When the election of Mr. LINCOLN was announced, there was rejoicing in the streets of Charleston, and doubtless at other points in the South; for it was believed by the conspirators that this had brought a tide in the current of their machinations which would bear them on to victory. The drama of secession was now open, and State after State rapidly rushed out of the Union, and their members withdrew from Congress. The revolution was pressed on with this hot haste in order that no time should be allowed for

reaction in the Northern mind, or for any adjustment of the Slavery issues by the action of Congress or of the State Legislatures. Had the Southern members continued in their seats, a satisfactory compromise would, no doubt, have been arranged and passed before the adjournment of Congress. As it was, after their retirement, and after Congress had become Republican, an amendment to the Constitution was adopted by a two-thirds vote, declaring that Congress should never interfere with Slavery in the States, and declaring, further, that this amendment should be irrevocable. Thus we falsified the clamor so long and so insidiously rung in the ears of the Southern people, that the abolition of Slavery in the States was the ultimate aim of the Republican party. But even this amendment, and all others which may be needed to furnish the guarantees demanded, are now defeated by the secession of eleven States, which, claiming to be out of the Union, will refuse to vote upon, and, in effect, will vote against, any proposals to modify the Federal Constitution. There are now thirty-four States in the Confederacy, three-fourths of which, being twenty-six, must concur in the adoption of any amendment before it can become a part of the Constitution; but the secession of eleven States leaves but twenty-three whose vote can possibly be secured, which is less than the constitutional number.

Thus we have the extraordinary and discreditable spectacle of a revolution made by certain States professedly on the ground that guarantees for the safety of their institutions are denied them, and, at the same time, instead of co-operating with their sister States in obtaining these guarantees, they designedly assume a hostile attitude, and thereby render it constitutionally impossible to

secure them. This profound dissimulation shows that it was not the safety of the South but its severance from the Confederacy, which was sought from the beginning. Cotemporary with, and in some cases preceding, these acts of secession, the greatest outrages were committed upon the Government of the United States by the States engaged in them. Its forts, arsenals, arms, barracks, custom-houses, post-offices, moneys, and, indeed, every species of its property within the limits of these States, were seized and appropriated, down to the very hospital stores for the sick soldiers. More than half a million of dollars was plundered from the mint at New Orleans. United States vessels were received from the defiled hands of their officers in command, and, as if in the hope of consecrating official treachery as one of the public virtues of the age, the surrender of an entire military department by a General, to the keeping of whose honour it had been confided, was deemed worthy of the commendation and thanks of the Conventions of several States. All these lawless proceedings were well understood to have been prompted and directed by men occupying seats in the Capitol, some of whom were frank enough to declare that they could not and would not, though in a minority, live under a Government which they could not control. In this declaration is found the key which unlocks the whole of the complicated machinery of this revolution. The profligate ambition of public men in all ages and lands has been the rock on which republics have been split. Such men have arisen in our midst—men who, because unable permanently to grasp the helm of the ship, are willing to destroy it in the hope to command some one of the rafts that may float away from the wreck.

The effect is to degrade us to a level with the military bandits of Mexico and South America, who, when beaten at an election, fly to arms, and seek to master by the sword what they have been unable to control by the ballot-box.

The atrocious acts enumerated were acts of war, and might all have been treated as such by the late Administration; but the President patriotically cultivated peace—how anxiously and how patiently the country well knows.

While, however, the revolutionary leaders greeted him with all hails to his face, they did not the less diligently continue to whet their swords behind his back. Immense military preparations were made, so that when the moment for striking at the Government of the United States arrived, the revolutionary States leaped into the contest clad in full armour.

As if nothing should be wanting to darken this page of history, the seceded States have already entered upon the work of confiscating the debts due from their citizens to the North and Northwest. The millions thus gained will doubtless prove a pleasant substitute for those guarantees now so scornfully rejected. To these confiscations will probably succeed soon those of lands and negroes owned by citizens of loyal States; and, indeed, the apprehension of this step is already sadly disturbing the fidelity of non-resident proprietors. Fortunately, however, infirmity of faith, springing from such a cause, is not likely to be contagious. *The war begun is being prosecuted by the Confederate States in a temper as fierce and unsparing as that which characterizes conflicts between the most hostile nations. Letters of marque and reprisal are being granted to all who seek them, so that our coasts will soon*

swarm with these piratical cruisers, as the President has properly denounced them. Every buccaneer who desires to rob American commerce upon the ocean, can, for the asking, obtain a warrant to do so, in the name of the new republic. To crown all, large bodies of Indians have been mustered into the service of the revolutionary States, and are now conspicuous in the ranks of the Southern army. A leading North Carolina journal, noting their stalwart frames and unerring marksmanship, observes, with an exultation positively fiendish, that they are armed, not only with the rifle, but also with *the scalping-knife and tomahawk*.

Is Kentucky willing to link her name in history with the excesses and crimes which have sullied this revolution at every step of its progress? Can she soil her pure hands with its booty? She possesses the noblest heritage that God has granted to his children; is she prepared to barter it away for that miserable mess of pottage which the gratification of the unholy ambition of her public men would bring to her lips? Can she, without laying her face in the very dust for shame, become a participant in the spoliation of the commerce of her neighbours and friends, by contributing her star, hitherto so stainless in its glory, to light the corsair on his way? Has the war-whoop, which used to startle the sleep of our frontiers, so died away in her ears that she is willing to take the red-handed savage to her bosom as the champion of her rights and the representative of her spirit? Must she not first forget her own heroic sons who perished, butchered and scalped, upon the disastrous field of Raisin?

The object of the revolution, as avowed by all who are pressing it forward, is the permanent dismemberment of the

Confederacy. The dream of reconstruction—used during the last winter as a lure to draw the hesitating or the hopeful into the movement—has been formally abandoned. If Kentucky separates herself from the Union, it must be upon the basis that the separation is to be final and eternal. Is there aught in the organization or administration of the Government of the United States to justify, on her part, an act so solemn and so perilous? Could the wisest of her lawyers, if called upon, find material for an indictment in any or in all the pages of the history of the Republic? Could the most leprous-lipped of its calumniators point to a single State or Territory, or community or citizen, that it has wronged or oppressed? It would be impossible. *So far as the Slave States are concerned, their protection has been complete, and if it has not been, it has been the fault of their statesmen, who have had the control of the Government since its foundation.*

The census returns show that during the year 1860 the Fugitive Slave Law was executed more faithfully and successfully than it had been during the preceding ten years. Since the installation of President LINCOLN, not a case has arisen in which the fugitive has not been returned, and that, too, without any opposition from the people. Indeed, the fidelity with which it was understood to be the policy of the Administration to enforce the provisions of this law, has caused a perfect panic among the runaway slaves in the Free States, and they have been escaping in multitudes to Canada, unpursued and unreclaimed by their masters. Is there found in this, reason for a dissolution of the Union?

That the Slave States are not recognized as equals in

the Confederacy, has for several years been the cry of demagogues and conspirators. But what is the truth? Not only according to the theory, but the actual practice of the Government, the Slave States have ever been, and still are, in all respects, the peers of the Free. Of the fourteen Presidents who have been elected, seven were citizens of Slave States, and of the seven remaining, three represented Southern principles, and received the votes of the Southern people; so that, in our whole history, but four Presidents have been chosen who can be claimed as the special champions of the policy and principles of the Free States, and even these so only in a modified sense. Does this look as if the South had ever been deprived of her equal share of the honours and powers of the Government? The Supreme Court has decided that the citizens of the Slave States can, at will, take their slaves into all the Territories of the United States; and this decision, which has never been resisted or interfered with in a single case, is the law of the land, and the whole power of the Government is pledged to enforce it. That it will be loyally enforced by the present Administration I entertain no doubt. A Republican Congress, at the late session, organized three new Territories, and in the organic law of neither was there introduced, or attempted to be introduced, the slightest restriction upon the rights of the Southern emigrant to bring his slaves with him. At this moment, therefore, and I state it without qualification, there is not a Territory belonging to the United States into which the Southern people may not introduce their slaves at pleasure, and enjoy there complete protection. Kentucky should consider this great and undeniable fact, before which all the frothy rant of demagogues and

disunionists must disappear as a bank of fog before the wind. But were it otherwise, and did a defect exist in our organic law, or in the practical administration of the Government, in reference to the rights of Southern slaveholders in the Territories, still the question would be a mere abstraction, since the laws of climate forbid the establishment of slavery in such a latitude; and to destroy such institutions as ours for such a cause, instead of patiently trying to remove it, would be a little short of national insanity. It would be to burn the house down over our heads merely because there is a leak in the roof; to scuttle the ship in mid-ocean merely because there is a difference of opinion among the crew as to the point of the compass to which the vessel should be steered; it would be, in fact, to apply the knife to the throat instead of to the cancer of the patient.

But what remains? Though, say the Disunionists, the Fugitive Slave Law is honestly enforced, and though, under the shelter of the Supreme Court, we can take our slaves into the Territories, yet the Northern people will persist in discussing the institution of Slavery, and therefore we will break up the Government. It is true that Slavery has been very intemperately discussed in the North, and it is equally true that until we have an Asiatic despotism, crushing out all freedom of speech and of the press, this discussion will probably continue. In this age and country all institutions, human and divine, are discussed, and so they ought to be; and all that cannot bear discussion must go to the wall, where they ought to go. It is not pretended, however, that the discussion of Slavery, which has been continued in our country for more than forty years, has in any manner disturbed or

weakened the foundation of the institution. On the contrary, we learn from the press of the seceded States that their slaves were never more tranquil or obedient. There are zealots—happily few in number—both North and South, whose language upon this question is alike extravagant and alike deserving our condemnation. Those who assert that Slavery should be extirpated by the sword, and those who maintain that the great mission of the white man upon earth is to enslave the black, are not far apart in the folly and atrocity of their sentiments.

Before proceeding further, Kentucky should measure well the depth of the gulf she is approaching, and look well to the feet of her guides. Before forsaking a Union in which her people have enjoyed such uninterrupted and such boundless prosperity, she should ask herself, not once, but many times, Why do I go, and where am I going? In view of what has been said, it would be difficult to answer the first branch of the inquiry, but to answer the second part is patent to all, as are the consequences which would follow the movement. In giving her great material and moral resources to the support of the Southern Confederacy, Kentucky might prolong the desolating struggle that rebellious States are making to overthrow a Government which they have only known in its blessings; but the triumph of the Government would nevertheless be certain in the end. *She would abandon a Government strong and able to protect her for one that is weak, and that contains, in the very elements of its life, the seeds of distraction and early dissolution. She would adopt, as the law of her existence, the right of secession—a right which has no foundation in jurisprudence, or logic, or in our political history; which Madison, the father of*

the Federal Constitution, denounced: which has been denounced by most of the States and prominent statesmen now insisting upon its exercise; which, in introducing a principle of indefinite disintegration, cuts up all confederate governments by the roots, and gives them over a prey to the caprices, and passions, and transient interests of their members, as autumnal leaves are given to the winds which blow upon them. In 1814, the *Richmond Enquirer*, then, as now, the organ of public opinion in the South, pronounced secession to be treason, and nothing else, and such was then the doctrine of Southern statesmen. What was true then is equally true now. The prevalence of this pernicious heresy is mainly the fruit of that farce called "State Rights," which demagogues have been so long playing under tragic mask, and which has done more than all things else to unsettle the foundations of the Republic, by estranging the people from the Federal Government, as one to be distrusted and resisted, instead of being, what it is, emphatically their own creation, at all times obedient to their will, and in its ministrations the grandest reflex of the greatness and beneficence of popular power that has ever ennobled the history of our race. Said Mr. CLAY: "I owe a supreme allegiance to the General Government, and to my State a subordinate one." And this terse language disposes of the whole controversy which has arisen out of the secession movement in regard to the allegiance of the citizen. As the power of the States and Federal Government are in perfect harmony with each other, so there can be no conflict between the allegiance due to them; each, while acting within the sphere of its constitutional authority, is entitled to be obeyed; but when a State, throwing off all

constitutional restraints, seeks to destroy the General Government, to say that its citizens are bound to follow it in this career of crime, and discard the supreme allegiance they owe to the Government assailed, is one of the shallowest and most dangerous fallacies that has ever gained credence among men.

Kentucky, occupying a central position in the Union, is now protected from the scourge of foreign war, however much its ravages may waste the towns and cities upon our coasts, or the commerce upon our seas; but as a member of the Southern Confederacy, she would be a frontier State, and necessarily the victim of those border feuds and conflicts which have become proverbial in history alike for their fierceness and frequency. The people of the South now sleep quietly in their beds, while there is not a home in infatuated and misguided Virginia that is not filled with the alarms and oppressed by the terrors of war. In the fate of the ancient Commonwealth, dragged to the altar of sacrifice by those who should have stood between her bosom and every foe, Kentucky may read her own. *No wonder, therefore, that she has been so coaxingly besought to unite her fortunes with those of the South, and to lay down the bodies of her chivalric sons as a breastwork, behind which the Southern people may be sheltered.* Even as attached to the Southern Confederacy, she would be weak for all the purposes of self-protection, as compared with her present position. But amid the mutations incident to such a helpless and disintegrating league, Kentucky would probably soon find herself adhering to a mere fragment of the Confederacy, or it may be standing entirely alone, in the presence of tiers of Free States, with populations exceeding, by many millions, her own. Feeble States,

thus separated from powerful and warlike neighbours by ideal boundaries, or by fears as easily traversed as rivulets, are as insects that feed upon the lion's lip—liable at every moment to be crushed. The recorded doom of multitudes of such, has left us a warning too solemn and impressive to be disregarded.

Kentucky now scarcely feels the contribution she makes to support the Government of the United States, but as a member of the Southern Confederacy, of whose policy free trade will be a cardinal principle, she will be burdened with direct taxation to the amount of double, or, it may be, triple or quadruple that which she now pays into her own treasury. Superadded to this will be required from her her share of those vast outlays necessary for the creation of a navy, the erection of forts and custom-houses along a frontier of several thousand miles; and for the maintenance of that large standing army which will be indispensable at once for her safety, and for imparting to the new government that strong military character which, it has been openly avowed, the peculiar institutions of the South will inexorably demand.

Kentucky now enjoys for her peculiar institution the protection of the Fugitive Slave law, loyally enforced by the Government, and it is this law, effective in its power of recapture, but infinitely more potent in its moral agency in preventing the escape of slaves, that alone saves that institution in the Border States from utter extinction. She cannot carry this law with her into the new Confederacy. She will, virtually, have Canada brought to her doors in the form of Free States, whose population, relieved of all moral and constitutional obligations to deliver up fugitive slaves, will stand, with open

arms, inviting and welcoming them, and defending them, if need be, at the point of the bayonet. Under such influences, slavery will perish rapidly away in Kentucky, as a ball of snow would melt in a summer's sun.

Kentucky, in her soul, abhors the African slave-trade, and turns away with unspeakable horror and loathing from the red altars of King Dahomey. *But although this traffic has been temporarily interdicted by the seceded States, it is well understood that this step has been taken as a mere measure of policy for the purpose of impressing the Border States, and of conciliating the European powers. The ultimate legalization of this trade, by a Republic professing to be based upon African servitude, must follow as certainly as does the conclusion from the premises of a mathematical proposition.* Is Kentucky prepared to see the hand upon the dial-plate of her civilization rudely thrust back a century, and to stand before the world the confessed champion of the African Slave-hunter? Is she, with her unsullied fame, ready to become a pander to the rapacity of the African Slave-trader, who burdens the very winds of the sea with the moans of the wretched captives whose limbs he has loaded with chains, and whose hearts he has broken? I do not, I cannot, believe it.

For this catalogue of what Kentucky must suffer in abandoning her present honoured and secure position, and becoming a member of the Southern Confederacy, what will be her indemnity? Nothing, absolutely nothing. The ill-woven ambition of some of her sons may possibly reach the Presidency of the new Republic; that is all. Alas! alas! for that dream of the Presidency of a South-

ern Republic, which has disturbed so many pillows in the South, and perhaps some in the West, also, and whose lurid light, like a demon's torch, is leading a nation to perdition!

The clamour that in insisting upon the South obeying the laws, the great principle that all popular governments rest upon the consent of the governed is violated, should not receive a moment's consideration. Popular government does, indeed, rest upon the consent of the governed, but it is upon the consent, *not of all, but of a majority of the governed*. Criminals are every day punished, and made to obey the laws, certainly against their will, and no man supposes that the principle referred to is thereby invaded. A bill passed by the Legislature, by the majority of a single vote only, though the constituents of all who voted against it, should be in fact, as they are held to be in theory, opposed to its provisions, still is not the less operative as a law, and no right of self-government is thereby trampled upon. The clamour alluded to assumes that the States are separate and independent governments, and that laws enacted under the authority of all may be resisted and repealed at the pleasure of each. The people of the United States, so far as the powers of the General Government are concerned, are a unit, and laws passed by a majority of all are binding upon all. The laws and Constitution, however, which the South now resists, have been adopted by her sanction, and the right she now claims is that of a feeble minority to repeal what a majority has adopted. Nothing could be more fallacious.

Civil war, under all circumstances, is a terrible

calamity, and yet, from the selfish ambition and wickedness of men, the best governments have not been able to escape it. In regarding that which has been forced upon the Government of the United States, Kentucky should not look so much at the means which may be necessarily employed in its prosecution, as at the machinations by which this national tragedy has been brought upon us. When I look upon this bright land, a few months since so prosperous, so tranquil, and so free, and now behold it desolated by war, and the firesides of its thirty millions of people darkened, and their bosoms wrung with anguish, and know, as I do, that all this is the work of a score or two of men, who, over all this national ruin and despair, are preparing to carve with the sword their way to seats of permanent power, I cannot but feel that they are accumulating upon their soil an amount of guilt hardly equalled in all the atrocities of treason and of homicide that have degraded the annals of our race from the foundations of the world. *Kentucky may rest well assured that this conflict, which is one of self-defence, will be pursued on the part of the Government in the paternal spirit in which a father seeks to reclaim his erring offspring. No conquest, no effusion of blood is sought. In sorrow, not in anger, the prayer of all is, that the end may be reached without loss of life or waste of property.* Among the most powerful instrumentalities relied on for re-establishing the authority of the Government, is that of the Union sentiment of the South, sustained by a liberated press. It is now trodden to the earth under a reign of terrorism which has no parallel but in the worst days of the French Revolution. The presence of the Govern-

ment will enable it to rebound and look its oppressors in the face. At present we are assured that in the seceded States no man expresses an opinion opposed to the revolution but at the hazard of his life and property. The only light which is admitted into political discussion is that which flashes from the sword or gleams from glistening bayonets. A few days since, one of the United States Senators from Virginia published a manifesto, in which he announces, with oracular solemnity and severity, that all citizens who would not vote for secession, but were in favour of the Union—not, should, or ought to—but “MUST leave the State.” These words have in them decidedly the crack of the overseer’s whip. The Senator evidently treats Virginia as a great negro quarter, in which the lash is the appropriate emblem of authority, and the only argument he will condescend to use. However the freemen of other parts of the State may abase themselves under the exercise of this insolent and proscriptive tyranny, should the Senator, with his scourge of slaves, endeavour to drive the people of Western Virginia from their homes, I will only say, in the language of the narrative of Gilpin’s ride,

“May I be there to see!”

It would certainly prove a deeply interesting spectacle.

It is true that before this deliverance of the popular mind of the South from the threatenings and alarm which have subdued it can be accomplished, the remorseless agitators who have made this revolution, and now hold its reins, must be discarded alike from the public confidence and the public service. The country in its agony is feel-

ing their power, and we well understand how difficult will be the task of overthrowing the ascendancy they have secured. But the Union men of the South—believed to be in the majority in every seceded State, except, perhaps, South Carolina—aided by the presence of the Government, will be fully equal to the emergency. Let these agitators perish, politically, if need be, by scores,

“A breath can unmake them as a breath has made;”

but destroy this Republic, and

“Where is that Promethean heat
That can its light relume?”

Once entombed, when will the Angel of the Resurrection descend to the portals of its sepulchre? There is not a voice which comes to us from the cemetery of nations that does not answer: “Never, never!” Amid the torments of perturbed existence, we may have glimpses of rest and of freedom, as the maniac has glimpses of reason between the paroxysms of his madness, but we shall attain to neither national dignity nor national repose. We shall be a mass of jarring, warring, fragmentary States, enfeebled and demoralized, without power at home, or respectability abroad, and, like the republics of Mexico and South America, we will drift away on a shoreless and ensanguined sea of civil commotion, from which, if the teachings of history are to be trusted, we shall finally be rescued by the iron hand of some military wrecker, who will coin the shattered elements of our greatness and of our strength in a diadem and a throne. Said M. FOULD, the great French statesman, to an American citizen, a few weeks since: “Your Republic is dead, and it is pro-

bably the last the world will ever see. You will have a reign of terrorism, and after that two or three monarchies." All this may be verified, should this revolution succeed.

Let us then twine each thread of the glorious tissue of our country's flag about our heart-strings, and looking upon our homes and catching the spirit that breathes upon us from the battle-fields of our fathers, let us resolve, that come weal or woe, we will in life and in death, now and for ever, stand by the Stars and the Stripes. They have floated over our cradles, let it be our prayer and our struggle that they shall float over our graves. They have been unfurled from the snows of Canada to the plains of New Orleans, and to the halls of the Montezumas, and amid the solitudes of every sea; and everywhere, as the luminous symbol of resistless and beneficent power, they have led the brave and the free to victory and to glory. It has been my fortune to look upon this flag in foreign lands and amid the gloom of an oriental despotism, and right well do I know, by contrast, how bright are its stars, and how sublime are its inspirations! If this banner, the emblem for us of all that is grand in human history, and of all that is transporting in human hope, is to be sacrificed on the altars of a Satanic ambition, and thus disappear for ever amid the night and tempest of revolution, then will I feel—and who shall estimate the desolation of that feeling?—that the sun has indeed been stricken from the sky of our lives, and that henceforth we shall be but wanderers and outcasts, with nought but the bread of sorrow and of penury for our lips, and with hands ever outstretched in feebleness and supplication, on which, in any hour, a military tyrant may rivet the fetters of a despairing bondage. May God in his infinite

mercy save you and me, and the land we so much love, from the doom of such a degradation.

No contest so momentous as this has arisen in human history, for, amid all the conflicts of men and of nations, the life of no such government as ours has ever been at stake. Our fathers won our Independence by the blood and sacrifices of a seven years' war, and we have maintained it against the assaults of the greatest Power upon the earth; and the question now is, whether we are to perish by our own hands, and have the epitaph of suicide written upon our tomb? The ordeal through which we are passing must involve immense suffering and losses for us all, but the expenditure of not merely hundreds of millions, but of billions of treasure, will be well made, if the result shall be the preservation of our institutions.

Could my voice reach every dwelling in Kentucky, I would implore its inmates—if they would not have the rivers of their prosperity shrink away, as do unfed streams beneath the summer heats—to rouse themselves from their lethargy, and fly to the rescue of their country, before it is everlastingly too late. Man should appeal to man, and neighbourhood to neighbourhood, until the electric fires of patriotism shall flash from heart to heart in one unbroken current throughout the land. It is a time in which the work-shop, the office, the counting-house, and the field, may well be abandoned for the solemn duty that is upon us, for all these toils will but bring treasure, not for ourselves, but for the spoiler, if this revolution is not arrested.

We are all, with our every earthly interest, embarked in mid ocean on the same common deck. The howl of the storm is in our ears, and "the lightning's red glare is

painting hell on the sky ;” and while the noble ship pitches and rolls under the lashings of the waves, the cry is heard that she has sprung a leak at many points, and that the rushing waters are mounting rapidly in the hold. The man who, in such an hour, will not work at the pumps, is either a maniac or a monster.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH HOLT.

LETTER FROM HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

The following private letter was written, without any thought of publication, to a correspondent in Virginia.

Boston, May 15, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. —.

Your letter of the 9th reached me yesterday. I read it with mingled feelings; gratified that your friendly regard had as yet survived the shock of the times, and deeply grieved at the different view we take of the existing crisis.

It is well known to you that I sustained the South, at the almost total sacrifice of influence and favour at home, as long as I thought she was pursuing constitutional objects. This I did, although the South had placed the conservative North in a false and indefensible position, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the persevering attempts to force slavery into the Territory of Kansas, by surprise, fraud and violence, against the known wish of an overwhelming majority of the people. I pursued this course for the sake of strengthening the hands of patriotic Union men at the South; *although I was well aware, partly from facts within my personal knowledge, that leading Southern politicians had for thirty years been resolved to break up the Union, as soon*

as they ceased to control the United States Government, and that the slavery question was but a pretext for keeping up agitation and rallying the South.

Notwithstanding this state of things, and the wholly unwarrantable manner in which the policy of secession was initiated by South Carolina and followed up by the other cotton States, and in spite of the seizure of the public establishments and the public property—which, in the absence of any joint act of partition, was sheer plunder—it was my opinion that, if they would abstain from further aggression, and were determined to separate, we had better part in peace. But the wanton attack on Fort Sumter (which took place, not from any military necessity, for what harm was a single company, cooped up in Charleston harbour, able to do to South Carolina? but for the avowed purpose of “stirring the blood” of the South, and thus bringing in the border States), and the subsequent proceedings at Montgomery, have wholly changed the state of affairs. The South has levied an unprovoked war against the Government of the United States, the mildest and most beneficent in the world, and has made it the duty of every good citizen to rally to its support.

I perceive that my having publicly expressed that sentiment, and contributed my mite toward the regiment of Mr. Webster (who inherits the conservative opinions of his illustrious father), has caused surprise on the part of some of my Southern friends—yourself among the most valued of them—as if my so doing was inconsistent with the friendly feelings I have ever cherished toward the South. But these friends forget that as early as the

12th of April, that is, before the proclamation of President Lincoln, the Secretary of War at Montgomery had threatened that by the 1st of May, the Confederate flag should float over the Capitol at Washington, and in due time our Faneuil Hall. When General Beauregard proceeds to execute this threat, his red-hot cannon balls and shells will not spare the roof that shelters my daughter and four little children at Washington, nor my own roof in Boston. Must I, because I have been the steady friend of the South, sit still while he is battering my house about my ears?

I certainly deprecated the choice of a President exclusively by the electoral vote of one section of the country, though consenting with the greatest reluctance to be myself upon one of the opposing tickets. It was, however, fully in the power of the South to have produced a different result. *But the disunionists were determined to have their own candidate, though mistaken, I trust, in the belief that he shared their disloyal views. I make this charge against them without scruple, justified by subsequent events, as well as by the language of the entire Union press at the South during the canvass.*

After the election was decided, the disunionists would not wait for *overt acts*, because they knew none could or would be committed. They knew that there was an anti-Republican majority in the Senate, and that there would be one in the present House. *They "precipitated" the rupture of the Union, because they knew that if they waited, even the pretext for it would fail.*

After the cotton States had seceded, and although that circumstance greatly increased the difficulty of compro-

mise, measures were nevertheless adopted or proposed in Congress, which must have removed all sincere alarm on the part of the South, that their Constitutional rights were threatened. The accredited leaders of the Republican party, including the President elect, uniformly pledged themselves to that effect. The two Houses by a constitutional majority pledged them in like manner against any future amendment of the Constitution violating the rights of the South. A member from Massachusetts, (Mr. Adams,) possessing the entire confidence of the incoming Administration, proposed to admit New Mexico as a State, and three new Territories were organized without any anti-slavery restriction. While this was done in Congress, the States repealed or modified the laws throwing obstacles in the way of recovering fugitive slaves—laws which have never been of any practical injury to the cotton States. These conciliatory demonstrations had no effect in staying the progress of secession, *because the leaders of that revolution were determined not to be satisfied*, and to maintain their policy, which, in the light of the Constitution, is simple rebellion and treason, they have appealed to the sword.

- You say that the South desires nothing but peace, and ask whether the North will not “let you alone.” But, my good friend, the South demands a great deal more than “peace.” She claims the capital of the country, although she has but a third of its population. She claims the control of the outlet of Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries; the right to command the most direct route (the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad) to the Atlantic from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois—States whose popu-

lation amounts to five and a half millions; the right to dragoon the State of Maryland and the Western part of your own State, with Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee, into joining the Southern Confederacy; the right to occupy the fortresses which protect the trade of the Gulf of Mexico; the right to shut up the outlet of the Ohio, Mississippi, and the Missouri; and, finally, she claims the right for any State, that chooses to pass a law to that effect, to break up the Union. In enforcing these unconstitutional, monstrous, and unheard of usurpations, she asks to be "let alone;" and when the Government of the United States, in obedience to the solemn oaths of its members, (from which the leaders of the revolt dispense themselves,) takes measures to defend itself, the capital of the Union, the public establishments and the rights of the whole people against this invasion, long premeditated by ambitious and disappointed politicians, (for Mr. A. H. Stephens truly declares that to be "the source of a great part of our troubles,") she exclaims that the North seeks to "subjugate the South."

I cannot describe to you, my dear friend, the sorrow caused me by this state of things. Circumstances, as you well knew, had led me to form personal friendly relations at the South, more extensively than most Northern men, and the support given, especially in the Border States, to the ticket on which my name was borne at the late election, filled me with gratitude. If the sacrifice of all I have, could have averted the present disastrous struggle, I could have made it willingly, joyously. But I pray you, believe me that I speak not only my own conviction, but that of the entire North, when I say that we

feel that the conflict has been forced upon us, to gratify the aspirations of ambitious men; that it is our duty to ourselves, to our children, and to the whole people, to sustain the Government; and that it is, if possible, more the interest of the South than of the North, that this attempt to break up the Union should fail.

I remain, my dear Mr.—,

Sorrowfully and sincerely yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

LETTER FROM COMMODORE STEWART.

BORDENTOWN, *May*, 4, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR:

Agreeably to your request I now furnish you with the reminiscences of a conversation which passed between Mr. John C. Calhoun and myself, in the latter part of December, 1812, after the declaration of war by the Congress of the United States against Great Britain, on the 18th of June previous.

On the assembling of Congress, in the early part of December, I found that an important portion of the leading Democratic members of Congress had taken up their quarters at Mrs. Bushby's boarding-house; amongst whom was Mr. Calhoun—a new member from South Carolina—and I believe this was his first appearance in the House of Representatives. In consequence of this I took Lieutenant Ridgley, my confidential officer and the first Lieutenant of the frigate *Constellation*, of which vessel I then held the command, and was preparing for sea at the Washington navy yard—left our lodgings at Strothers' and obtained board at Mrs. Bushby's with them. Ridgley was a witty and able talker, who could aid me in demonstrating the necessity for, and the high policy of, a formidable naval force, wherewith to carry on the war with

England, which I considered could only be done with effect through her being victoriously struck at on an element over which she deemed herself sole mistress. This appeared to me to constitute her most tender point.

By this movement I found myself judiciously located to enable me to urge upon Congress any patriotic measures which seemed best calculated to meet and discomfit the self-sufficiency and arrogance of our oppressive enemy.

Mr. Calhoun's age, I thought, approximated my own, which was then thirty-four, and he being a man of the highest order of talent, and representing a State in our Union which scarce ever permitted themselves to be represented by inferior ability in the national councils, I could not have commenced my object with one more fitted for the purpose I had in view. He was also a high-minded and honourable man, kind and friendly, as well as open and confiding to those he deemed worthy. We soon formed an intimacy, and I frequently had long conversations with him on the war, the subjects relating thereto, and matters growing out of its existence—the navy being the most prominent—the gunboats, the merchants, bonds, then on the tapis in Congress, and others of political or minor interest. One evening I struck on the divided views of our sectional interests—of the war—stated to him that the opposite feelings on this subject had puzzled me exceedingly, and asked him how it was that the planting States were so strongly and so decidedly in favour of the war, while the commercial States were so much opposed to it? With this latter section of our country it seemed to me that the punishment of England, through the medium of war, ought to meet their highest approbation, and call for their greatest efforts, as they were the

greatest sufferers through her instrumentality and power over our commercial affairs since 1792, which were so arrogantly urged by plunder and impressment on the highway of nations, while the Southern portion of the Union had felt but little in comparison. I observed with great simplicity: "You in the South and Southwest are decidedly the aristocratic portion of this Union; you are so in holding persons in perpetuity in slavery; you are so in every domestic quality; so in every habit of your lives, living and actions; so in habits, customs, intercourse and manners; you neither work with your hands, head, nor any machinery, but live and have your living not in accordance with the will of your Creator, but by the sweat of slavery, and yet you assume all the attributes, professions and advantages of Democracy." Mr. Calhoun replied: "I see you speak through the head of a young statesman, and from the heart of a patriot, but you lose sight of the politician and the sectional policy of the people. I admit your conclusions in respect to us Southrons; that we are essentially aristocratic, I cannot deny, but we can and do yield much to Democracy. This is our sectional policy; we are from necessity thrown upon, and solemnly wedded to, that party, however it may occasionally clash with our feelings, for the conservator of our interests. It is through our affiliation with that party in the Middle and Western States we control, under the Constitution, the governing of these United States; but when we cease thus to control this nation through a disjointed Democracy, or any material obstacle in that party which shall tend to throw us out of that rule and control, we shall then resort to the dissolution of the Union. The compromises in the Constitution, under the then circumstances, were sufficient

for our fathers, but under the altered condition of our country from that period, leave to the South no resource but dissolution; for no amendments to the Constitution could be reached through a Convention of the people and their three-fourths rule." I laughed incredulously, and said: "Well, Mr. Calhoun, ere such can take place you and I will have been so long *non est* that we can now laugh at its possibility, and leave it with complacency to our children's children, who will then have the watch on deck."

Alas! my dear sir, how entirely were the views of that "young headed statesman" circumscribed by the patriotic feelings of his heart. What he then thought an impossibility for human hands to effect, for ages on ages to come, he now sees verified to the letter, as predicted by that far-seeing statesman, JOHN C. CALHOUN. Even this noble Republic is disrupted, its Constitution rent into shreds and tatters by party follies and the wickedness of its people's selfishness. Had they but inherited a moiety of the virtues of their fathers, who bled and impoverished themselves through a long and bloody war to establish the independence and liberty, welfare and happiness of their posterity for all time to come; had they worshipped the true and living God, instead of the "almighty dollar," they would not now have beheld the millions of patriots arming for the strife, against traitors to their country, to the Constitution and the laws, once more to baptize in blood, for liberty's sake, the blessings which rational liberty accords under our Union. Had a prophet arisen in 1812, and predicted as JOHN C. CALHOUN did, nothing short of Divine inspiration could have given credence to his foreshadowings. Alas! I have lived to see its accom-

plishment. He has gone to the tomb of his fathers, the pride of his section, honoured for his talents and for his efforts in council, while your humble servant still lingers on the brink, under the national anathema of degradation—as a reward for many years of faithful services—which degradation was accorded him simultaneously with his reaching the head of the service to which his whole life had been devoted. You will see, my dear sir, I have no disposition to “bury my light under a bushel,” but will ever be ready to accord justice when justice is due. Thus in death we show the ruling passion stronger than in life; and as it is with individuals so it is with nations, the blackest spot found in the heart is ingratitude.

Accept my assurances of regard and respect.

CHARLES STEWART.

GEO. W. CHILDS, Esq., Philad.

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